

Cape Verdeans in Norwich



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Introduction and Acknowledgments

From the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, immigrants from the islands of Cape Verde, the former Portuguese colony located off the coast of Senegal, formed a small but vital community in Norwich, Connecticut. While the Cape Verdean presence there is an integral part of the city's ethnic heritage, the history of this local population has been little documented prior to this study, jointly sponsored by Norwich's St. Anthony Chapel Foundation and the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office with funding from the Community Investment Act. As a major facet of this effort, an oral history project was undertaken with some forty individuals—ranging in age from about forty-five to ninety-five years old—with close ties to the local Cape Verdean community. All are of Cape Verdean descent, and most either grew up in or lived in one of two distinct Cape Verdean neighborhoods in town. Several still live locally. The majority of these interviews were recorded between July and November 2021 in person at Norwich's Otis Library. A small number of people unable to attend were reached by telephone during those sessions. Four supplementary interviews took place in Hartford, Connecticut, in November 2021.

Another significant part of the project included travel to academic institutions, museums and related archives housing important collections relating to Cape Verdean history in Southern New England. That effort formed the foundation of the comprehensive resource guide included with this report. A final component was creation of a GIS map series based on a database of local population and related statistics in order to track the population and show key places in Norwich where Cape Verdeans lived, studied, worked and socialized.

While this project was essential to gaining a fuller understanding of the city's history, it also sheds light on the way that a variety of immigrant communities have enriched local life by contributing to Norwich's social and economic development, and by creating distinct neighborhoods—culturally and physically—within the larger community. Throughout time, numerous ethnic and racial groups have made their mark in Norwich: Cape Verdeans and Italians on the city's East Side; African Americans on the West Side; Poles in the Greenville section; Irish in the Thamesville district; and French Canadians in Taftville. In more recent decades, the region's casino industry has attracted a growing population to Norwich from China. More than twenty-five languages are spoken in the city today.

Cape Verdeans in Norwich stand out in part for a fascinating and complex racial-ethnic heritage rooted in Cape Verde's history as a European colony and one-time way station in the African slave trade. Historically, Cape Verdean immigrants in North America have been recognized as the only individuals of African descent to have migrated freely in large numbers to this country. That population movement is generally not considered to be truly voluntary, however, because it was driven primarily by the effort to escape a relentless cycle of poverty and hunger, much of which was brought on by a parallel sequence of droughts. Over the past three centuries, famine has been recorded in Cape Verde one out of every eight years. Between 1774 and 1975—the year the islands became an independent republic—more than 120,000 Cape Verdeans perished from its devastating effects. In seeking new lives, Cape Verdeans migrated to many parts of the world, settling in Dakar and other parts of Senegal, in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as well as in Portugal and the Netherlands. Historically, however, by far the highest numbers have made new lives in this country. At the time of independence, about 250,000 Cape Verdeans were living in the United States—a population roughly equal to that of the republic itself.

During the better part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Cape Verde-U.S. migration patterns related directly to the New England whaling industry and a vibrant packet trade that provided direct passenger service between the islands and Southern New England between the 1860s and 1965. By the late 1800s, Cape Verdeans were supplying a cheap labor

pool for the New England textile industry, notably in Rhode Island and in New Bedford and Fall River, Massachusetts. One of the largest Cape Verdean populations in the U.S. is still concentrated in Massachusetts, where New Bedford, long a primary port of entry, is still known for its rich Cape Verdean culture. Certain towns on Cape Cod—Wareham and Harwich notable among them—also have strong Cape Verdean associations due to a long tradition by islanders of working in that region as cranberry pickers. The whaling and cranberry industries also contributed to a Cape Verdean presence on Nantucket Island. Providence, Rhode Island, another point of settlement, is still known for the Cape Verdean enclave of Fox Hill on that city's east side. In Connecticut, the largest communities of Cape Verdean immigrants remain concentrated in small- to mid-sized cities, including Bridgeport, New Haven, Waterbury and Norwich.

Assembling accurate immigration statistics for Cape Verdeans has always been difficult for historians, in part because early arrivals were variously grouped as “Portuguese,” “Black



Lydia Perry Gonsalves, a longtime resident of Norwich's Sunnyside Avenue, and her brother John Gonsalves were among the many Cape Verdeans who picked cranberries on Cape Cod.

Portuguese,” “Bravas,” and “Atlantic Islanders,” for instance, but seldom designated clearly as “Cape Verdean.” Moreover, record keepers routinely conflated statistics from the Portuguese colonies, including Madeira and the Azores, and did not account for re-emigration numbers, which fluctuated because of the packet trade. To further complicate accounting, census takers did not always designate Cape Verde as a separate place of origin from Portugal. It should also be noted that Cape Verdean families in Norwich routinely expanded and shrank with the addition of aunts, uncles, cousins and friends who traveled between the city and Cape Cod, Providence and New Bedford for quasi-permanent stays. A downward trend in population counts following World War I probably reflects the impact of U.S. immigration quotas instituted in the 1920s.¹

In Norwich, the nucleus of the Cape Verdean population was located in two neighborhoods on Norwich's East Side (being the east side of the Thames River)—one in the area of Talman Street near the Shetucket River, and the other on and around Sunnyside Avenue on Laurel Hill, about three-quarters of a mile south. Settled by Cape Verdeans between the late 1800s and the mid-1900s, these culturally and geographically connected neighborhoods consisted primarily of modest one- and two-family wood-frame houses set on neat lots averaging about one-quarter acre in size.

Overall, a lack of published documentation meant that the task of gathering the history of this community depended almost exclusively on the information and stories offered by the project's interviewees. For that reason, much of the narrative on these pages is necessarily told in their voices. Despite diverse viewpoints, many common threads emerged that are relevant to understanding the Cape Verdean character and its effect on the immigrant experience locally and beyond. Virtually everybody who shared memories, for example, expressed deep admiration for the resilience and extraordinary work ethic of their Cape Verdean “elders.” Setting citizenship as a goal, the older generations left family members behind and persevered in the face of the unknown. Denise Gonzales Morgan spoke for many when recalling the challenges of assimilation. “They had no idea what America's dream was. It was just foreign to them—everything was different—the weather, the clothing, the food,” recalled Denise, who was raised by her grandmother on Talman Street. “You had to be pretty strong to survive that.”

¹ The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 established U.S. immigration quotas based on the number of foreign-born residents of each nationality using 1910 census counts. Quotas set under the more restrictive Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 allowed for visas for only two percent of the total number of each nationality (using lower 1890 census counts) and barred Asians entirely.

Although people often were unable to say precisely when or why their parents or grandparents chose Norwich as a place to settle, the common wisdom is that they were responding to the pull of family ties, or simply gravitating to the familiar comfort of shared traditions. “It was a feeling of belonging,” explained Daniel Rose, describing his Sunnyside Avenue neighborhood, where everyone on the street watched out for each other whether related or not (most were). “It was something you saw in your parents and your grandparents, he said.”

As they spoke happily of the Cape Verdean love of hospitality and good music—another defining trait of the culture—few failed to single out the Cape Verdean social club known as the Santiago Society for the indisputable role it played in local life. The scene of dances and other social events, this long-lived Talman Street institution embodied an important tradition of



Frank Albert Delgado (1920–96) earned respect well beyond his Talman Street neighborhood as a member of the Delgado Brothers, a successful band that also included his brothers Joseph, Anthony and Conrad. The group played jazz and ragtime in clubs and minstrel halls in New York, Providence, New Haven and Boston from the Prohibition era until World War II. A sister, Mary Delgado, performed as vocalist. “They were distinguished musicians, but also distinguished as men in the community,” recalled Frank’s nephew, Ron Delgado of the brothers. “There was an elegance about them.”

fraternal societies transplanted by European immigrant populations from their home countries. For transplants to new cultures, these organizations provided fellowship and a reassuring sense of solidarity. Cape Verdean societies proliferated in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and in Connecticut—where clubs are still active in Bridgeport and Waterbury. It is believed that Norwich’s Santiago Society was among the largest and most important in New England before it was lost to fire about fifteen years ago.

When considering the often sensitive and nuanced question of what it means to “be Cape Verdean,” many commented on their distinctive ethnic heritage, which represents a blended European and African lineage tinged with Moorish and Jewish bloodlines. Judy Gonsalves Gomes, raised on Sunnyside Avenue, recalled that her grandmother was “very European and proper in her manner.” Yet by the early 1900s, the majority of islanders carried some African blood, meaning they were associated with what was perceived as an inferior racial group, despite a remarkably rich mix gene pool. “Back then,” said Sylvanna Santos, who grew up in Norwich in the 1960s, “you were either black or white.” Arrival in this country thus typically meant exclusion from Portuguese social clubs and religious organizations. Still, it was the custom of many Cape Verdeans, especially the elders, to call themselves “Portuguese,” as opposed to “Cape Verdean.” According to Marta Rodrigues, that particular habit held its own irony, as “the Portuguese themselves wouldn’t have accepted us.” Dolores Rodrigues, another former resident of Talman Street, also commented on the complexities of race and ethnicity. “Our parents didn’t identify as black, and maybe not white,” she said. “It is very complicated.”

At the same time, Cape Verdeans tended not to identify closely with the African American population in this country. “Cape Verdeans have slavery in their heritage,” acknowledged Judy Gonsalves Gomes, part of a Sunnyside Avenue clan. “But it is not close to them the way it is for African Americans.” “There were Portuguese records in the country,” she said, explaining that it was easier to discover one’s roots. “You can trace your history back.” Many also recalled a certain distrust among the local African American community, stemming in part from the (sometimes) lighter skin color of the Cape Verdean population and their Catholic faith.

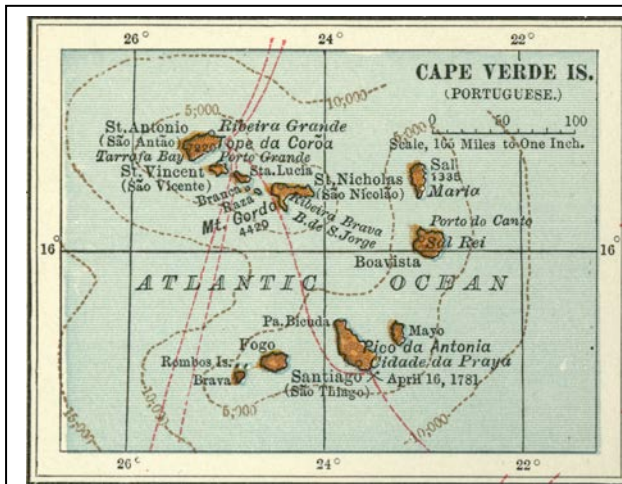
Most Cape Verdeans interviewed for this project concluded that the Cape Verdean “identity” was ultimately defined by the strength of family and cultural tradition. Not surprisingly, many memories centered on food and the rituals of its preparation. “Cape Verdeans cook the best rice I have ever had in my life,” declared Daniel Rose, describing a favorite dish, *jagacida*, adding, “it was so good I would put it between two pieces of bread.” There is also the slow-cooked Cape Verdean stew known as *cachupa*, simmered in pots on woodstoves; the creamy corn dish *samp*; and savory *cuscu* steamed with *mandioca* (yucca) flour in a clay pot set over a tin of boiling water. Mary Cardoza Silva remarked on the familiar routines of Saturdays, when her mother shut down the family’s wood stove and shined it up with black stove polish. Others recalled dressing up for Sunday church services and communions, which were never missed. (Loyalties were divided between St. Mary’s Church in Greenville and the Cathedral of St. Patrick on Broadway.)

These are just a few of the countless personal memories generously shared by the Cape Verdean community, and I am grateful to have met so many of its remarkable members. Special thanks are due to Roberta J. Delgado Vincent, president of the St. Anthony Chapel Foundation and board members Alfred H. Gonsalves and Robert L. Howard II. Jenny Fields Scofield, National Register and Architectural Survey Coordinator and Mary Dunne, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, both of the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office, also deserve recognition for their input. Robert D. Farwell, Otis Library director, and his staff also provided gracious support. Additional thanks go to Kristen LaBrie of New England GeoSystems for her mapping capabilities. I am also grateful to the following people, who additionally shared stories and research: Heather D. Aldi; Marcellina Santos Aldi; April Kolodnicki Araujo; Benjamin R. Barboza; Roy A. Barboza; Jeannette Cardoza; Laura DelGado Clemons; Brenda P. DelGado; Ron Delgado; Alinda DePina; Edward F. Esteves; Angelina Santos Gardner; Barbara A. Gomes; Trudi Barboza Gooden; Judy Gonsalves Gomes; Diane DePina Groner; Linda Barboza Hill; Maria Rodrigues McBride; Gloria J. Fernandes McMullen; Denise Gonzales Morgan; Frank Antonio Perry, Jr.; Joseph A. Perry, Jr.; Laura A. Pina; Antoinette Rodrigues; Dolores Rodrigues; Marta Rodrigues; Belmiro (Junie) Rodrigues; Ricardo (Ricky) Rodrigues; Daniel M. Rose; Jeffrey Abel Rose; John Rose, Jr.; Tasha Rodrigues Rowe; Sylvanna Santos; Antonio M. Santos Jr.; Elanah Sherman; Mary Cardoza Silva; Dominica Vaz Silver; Salomao R. Vaz; Augusta Nova Vaz-Edwards; Michelle (Shelito) Vincent; and Patricia Wrice. I also wish to acknowledge Leo Butler, Director of Diversity at Norwich Free Academy, and the following members of the school’s Cape Verdean Student Group, which meets regularly to explore issues about Cape Verdean history and culture: Aidelene Silva Alves; Jaslene Amado; Joal Andrade Barros; Angela Santana Benitez; Rodrigo Amado Gomes; Nahomi Labajos; Helder Texiera Mendes; Rafa Texiera Mendes; Alyssa Newson; Reese Newson; Keishla Altagracia Rodriguez; Adriana Amoa Rodrigues Silva; and Ariana Amado Rodrigues Silva.

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Cape Verdeans in Norwich: Historical Background

Cape Verde is a horseshoe-shaped chain of ten small volcanic islands (nine inhabited) and several tiny islets covering 1,557 square miles of land (an area slightly larger than Rhode Island). This subtropical archipelago is located in the South Atlantic about 350 miles off West Africa and 700 miles northwest of Cabo São Roque, Brazil. The name Cape Verde derives from “Cap Vert” (Green Cape), the westernmost point of Senegal and nearest point of mainland to this island republic. Despite the bucolic-sounding name, three of the Cape Verde islands (Sal, Boa Vista and Maio) are fairly sandy, and the overall topography of the archipelago is rocky.



The Cape Verde island archipelago consists of two groups. The northern, windward islands are San Antonio (Santo Antao), Saint Vincent (Sao Vicente), Santa Luzia, Saint Nicholas (Sao Nicolau), Sal and Boa Vista. The southern, leeward cluster comprises the major islands of Maio, Santiago (São Tiago)—with the capital city of Praia—Fogo and Brava, along with the three islets of Grande, Luis Carneiro and Sapado. Portugal—the first European nation to initiate a slave trade in Africa, and the last to abolish it (in 1836)—used the Cape Verdes as a way station for human cargo transported from Africa to the New World.

Credit for discovery of Cape Verde generally goes to Genoese navigators sailing in the 1450s under the Portuguese flag. Some historians maintain the islands were already known to Phoenician and Moorish explorers, and to Lebou fishermen from Senegal. The Cape Verdean island of Santiago (São Tiago) became the first European colonial outpost in the tropics in 1490, when a permanent settlement was established there under the auspices of the Portuguese King Afonso V. Cape Verde remained under Portuguese colonial rule until 1951, when the islands were categorized as an overseas province. The Independent Republic of Cape Verde was established in 1975.

Portugal’s initial colonization effort on Cape Verde focused primarily on sugar and cotton cultivation, but a chronic lack of rainfall and the dry winds blowing off the Sahara Desert precluded a successful plantation economy. By the sixteenth century, however, Cape Verde’s fortuitous location on a Trade Winds route between Africa’s Guinea Coast and Brazil had positioned the island

chain prominently in a developing African slave trade. It is believed that in the interests of that commerce, one-third of all enslaved people transported from the Guinea Coast to the Spanish West Indies and Brazil were initially brought to the Cape Verde Islands. There, enslaved peoples underwent a “conditioning” process including baptism into the Catholic faith and introduction to field and domestic work. The majority of enslaved individuals moved by traders through Cape Verde went via the transshipment port of Santiago, the most populous of the islands. A sizable population of Africans also remained permanently on Cape Verde, where they were conscripted primarily into plantation work on the islands of Fogo and Santiago. As much as eighty percent of the population on those two islands was enslaved by the 1500s.²

The first known record of North American contact with Cape Verde is a 1643 journal entry by Jonathan Winthrop of Massachusetts, which documented a shipment of wooden boat staves from Boston to England. According to Winthrop, sale of this cargo was intended to finance

² Raymond A. Almeida, “Nos Ku Nos: A Transnational Cape Verdean Community,” Cape Verdean Connection (1995 Festival of American Folklife, Smithsonian Institution, 1995), 18.

the purchase of “Africoes from the island of Mayo,” a reference to Africans held on Maio, one of the larger of Cape Verde’s leeward islands. As part of the West Indies “triangle trade,” profits from the subsequent sale of those enslaved Africans in Barbados would finance the purchase of molasses. That valuable commodity would be shipped to Boston for use in distilling rum. The triangle trade remained legal until the importation of Africans to the U.S. was banned in 1808.

Although Cape Verde never developed a significant domestic economy, the islands’ location roughly between North and South America did facilitate growth of a provisioning port for vessels sailing in the interests of a number of European, African and North and South American ventures. Islanders were able to expand a trade in a variety of exports, including colored cloth, dyestuffs, animal hides and Cape Verdean horses, highly valued by African nobility and cavalries.³ By the mid-eighteenth century, the larger islands of Cape Verde were the designated port of call for North American whaling vessels, along with British and North American sealers stopping in for fresh water and boat repairs. The islands also were an essential mid-ocean supplier of salt, used to preserve meat, fish and animal skins. Salt was also packed into empty ships’ holds as ballast.

By the 1830s, some sixty merchant and whaling ships were stopping annually at Cape Verde to replenish crew and supplies. This international maritime activity, expanded by the worldwide reach of whaling, significantly diversified the cultural makeup of Cape Verde by introducing to the islands a variety of European bloodlines, including French, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian. A Jewish culture also dated to the time of the Spanish Inquisition.⁴ Because Cape Verde’s inhospitable climate, lack of valuable natural resources and geographic isolation made it difficult to attract a permanent white settlement of significant size, the islands’ population gained an African majority. The makeup of the black community, which represented more than two-dozen West African ethnic groups, included a “free” black population in the form of escaped slaves. There was also a sizable number of Africans freed from bondage through official manumission efforts—typically during periods of famine.

Despite—or arguably due to—this complex ethnic intermixing, there emerged a separate and distinctive Cape Verdean culture, shaped in part by a strong tradition of Catholicism passed on from the Portuguese, but also infused by folkways, foods and musical customs reflective of African, South American and European sources. Cape Verdeans are arguably responsible for one of the world’s first fusion cuisines, incorporating the tastes of European meats, flavors from Africa and Asia (in the form of sugar and tropical fruits) and ingredients from the Americas (beans, chilies, corn, pumpkin and cassava). Among the islands’ most evocative and best-known musical traditions, the *morna*, a form of poetry set to music, and usually accompanied by guitar, accordion and viola, has a Cape Verdean sound, but also reminiscent of the Portuguese *fado*.

The spoken word is another important cultural marker. While the official language of Cape Verde has always been Portuguese, the true Cape Verdean mother tongue is a Portuguese-based pidgin, enhanced by structures and cadences borrowed from African dialects. Dating to the 1400s, this so-called “Kriolu,” which varies by dialect from island to island, is believed to be the oldest of the Creole languages spoken in the world today. During the days of Portuguese administration, using Kriolu was regarded as a sign of social inferiority, but it eventually found a voice among poets and intellectuals as an expression of cultural resistance to colonialism. The language is considered ideally suited to expressing intimacy and humor, and to conveying the

³ Richard A. Lobban, Jr., *Cape Verde: Crioulu Colony to Independent Nation* (Boulder Colorado, Westview Press, 1995), 25.

⁴ A Jewish population on Cape Verde traces its origins in part to a population of refugees fleeing persecution during the Spanish Inquisition in the 1400s. See Marilyn Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants 1860-1965* (University of Illinois, 1993), 4.

“soul” of the islands, especially through the lyrics of the *mornas*.⁵ Kriolu is still the customary means of conversing on the islands. Along with music and native cookery, the language migrated with Cape Verdeans to Southern New England, where it was spoken in many Norwich households—often as a way for parents to keep their children from knowing what they were saying.

The Way Out: Whaling and the Cape Verdean Packet Trade

Originating during the whaling era in the mid-1700s, and continuing by sea with the packet trade, the Cape Verdean migration process was primarily a response to the drought and famine that locked much of the archipelago’s population into a constant state of destitution throughout the colonial period. Most Cape Verdeans barely subsisted on rural farms on the isolated, weather-battered islands, where fresh running water was a rarity and literacy rates were equally low. Hunger and destitution left residents prey to diseases like cholera and smallpox. Famine-related statistics are staggering. In 1831–33, some 20,000 islanders died of starvation, and another 30,000 Cape Verdeans perished from hunger in 1863–65. Each of those calamitous events represented a loss of about ten to twenty percent of the colony’s total population.

It is impossible to know precisely how many Cape Verde islanders arrived in this country via whaleship. Working with ships’ logs, historian Marilyn Halter calculates that between 500 and 1,000 Cape Verdeans sailed as crewmen to New Bedford, Massachusetts—long New England’s foremost whaling port—between 1820 and 1860, during the first peak of the whaling trade. By about 1910, about the same number arrived annually to that city via the packet trade on Cape Verdean-owned and -operated windjammers.⁶

For able-bodied Cape Verdean men with no future on the islands, a berth on a whaleship promised passage to a new life. By 1875, about 600 to 1,000 Cape Verdeans were signing on to New England whalers annually—many of them so desperate to escape their circumstances that they left as stowaways, talking their way into jobs after being discovered aboard.⁷ Others, like Joaquin Da Luz, grandfather of several Norwich residents, found his way off the island of Santiago and onto a whaler at age fourteen by lying about his age and securing a position as cabin boy and cook.

Because most of the Cape Verdean seamen came from Brava, the westernmost of the leeward island group, all Cape Verdean whalers were known as “Bravas,” no matter their island of origin. By most accounts, Yankee ship owners readily overlooked age and lack of experience in favor of the islanders’ reputation for working hard, and their willingness to accept lower pay than their North American counterparts. Many of these seamen were farmers who did not even know how to swim, but they were in such demand that some ships cruised the islands with skeleton crews with the intent of filling out their ranks with Cape Verdean Bravas, also conscripted to fill in for North American mutineers.



Hard work earned Cape Verdeans a reputation as the best harpooners in the whaling industry. Henry Jose Rodrigues, great-grandfather of several Norwich residents interviewed for this project, made at least three voyages on the *Eliza Adams*, shown in this 1897 photograph (New Bedford Free Public Library).

⁵ Manuel Da Luz Gonçalves, “Cape Verdean Kriolu in the United States,” Cape Verdean Connection (1995 Festival of American Folklife, Smithsonian Institution), 1995, 27.

⁶ Halter, *op. cit.*, 39-40. While many of these immigrants continued on to Providence, they disembarked in New Bedford and made the last leg of the trip over land. Immigration numbers subsequently dropped due to World War I and the quota laws of the 1920s.

⁷ See Briton Cooper Busch, “Cape Verdeans in the American Whaling and Sealing Industry” (*The American Neptune*, Vol. XLV, No. 2, 1986), 109. Many more of the men probably went unrecorded.

Signing on to a whaleship could mean being away from home for years at a time with no sighting of land for months on end. The competence of the eager Bravas nevertheless was soon rewarded with advancement. A crewmember completing a first voyage to the satisfaction of his captain might earn a chance to ship out again as harpooner—the rank held by the fictional Cape Verdean character Daggoo in Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick*. From harpooner it was relatively easy to move on to officer and mate, even without the ability to speak English or the necessary writing skills to make entries in a ship’s log.

Cape Verdeans eventually earned a name as the most steadfast and skilled of all whalers. By the end of the whaling era in the early 1900s, the islanders



In the early 1900s, anywhere from nine to twenty-two packets sailed between Cape Verde and New England. Among the Cape Verdeans who made passage to New England on the square-rigged bark *Emma R. Smith* was Joseph Delgado, who arrived in Providence around 1908, and later moved to Norwich.

Some of those reconstituted ships would re-enter service as part of the transatlantic packet trade.

Despite a reputation for excellence, some Cape Verdeans hated the grueling work of whaling and regarded passage as a one-way trip to America. Roy Barboza recalled that his father, Antonio G. Barboza, a longtime resident of Talman Street, arrived in New Bedford from the island of Fogo aboard the *Charles W. Morgan* when he was about eighteen years old. The elder Barboza immediately quit the ship to join one of the seven Barboza brothers who would end up in that city, where Antonio found a new job in construction. “They had to jump to get away from it,” said Roy of the difficult life at sea. But Diane DePina Groner told a different story about her step grandfather, Joseph Ribeiro, who also worked on the same ship. He loved his time aboard and made many repeat voyages on the *Morgan*, now docked at Connecticut’s Mystic Seaport Museum.



The longest-lived Cape Verdean packet ship, the *Ernestina*, a former Arctic explorer named the *Effie M. Morrissey*, was refurbished in 1945 by a native of Fogo for transatlantic travel. After she was sold in 1967, the windjammer was used for inter-island service. In 1982, the Republic of Cape Verde presented the ship to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in a good-will gesture. The *Ernestina* is now undergoing restoration in Maine.

accounted for the majority of crew on all whalers and merchant vessels sailing out of New Bedford. When in 1920–21, the whaling bark *Charles W. Morgan* traveled to Atlantic Ocean fishing grounds on her last official voyage, she journeyed with John Theophilus Gonsalves as her Cape Verdean master. The crew consisted almost entirely of Bravas, who had begun acquiring and refurbishing the remnants of the once-great New England whaling fleet.



Norwicher Jimmy Barboza recalled that meeting the packets in Providence, Rhode Island, was a family tradition. Jimmy’s uncle and grandfather worked as cooks on the vessels, and would make sure that the *bidons*, or drums, of clothing and food his mother sent back to Cape Verde got to their intended recipients. *Bidon* packing—meaning the ability to fill every last nook and cranny of a drum—is still considered a Cape Verdean art.

By the early 1900s, the Cape Verdean packets were fast replacing the whaleships as the primary means of migrating from the islands to the United States. Initiated around 1860—and later augmented with steamship travel—the transatlantic packet commerce functioned as a vital cultural lifeline between the islands and this country by carrying mail, cargo and passengers on regularly scheduled trips between Furna on northeastern Brava, and the Southern New England ports of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island.⁸ Following a mild Gulf Stream current north from the islands, the windjammer route provided reliable passage along the established sailing lanes of the old whalers. First-time émigrés found the transition to America



Norwichers gather on the packet boat *Ernestina*: (left to right) Jeanette Gonsalves Cardoza, Angelina Gonsalves Gomes, Angelina’s godfather, Jose, and Edelia Gonsalves Perry.

relatively easy, as the trip precluded disorienting stopovers in foreign ports. Entry directly into the United States via Massachusetts or Rhode Island also made it possible to bypass immigration through the chaotic halls of Ellis Island. Because the vast majority of passengers on any given packet boat were Cape Verdean, a transatlantic voyage in either direction was a floating microcosm of island life. Passengers chattered in Kriolu, goats and chickens wandered the decks (mostly destined for the cook pot) and strains of Cape Verdean music filled the air, along with the aromas of island cookery.

New Bedford’s daily newspapers published docking times and detailed news of incoming vessels, and the arrival of a Cape Verdean packet was always cause for celebration. Even before travelers could disembark, their arms filled with *encomendas* (gift packages) in the form of Cape Verdean sweets, they were greeted by the familiar faces of friends, family and fellow countrymen. Noting the arrival of the *Maria Luiza* in April, 1910, the *Evening Standard* reported the crowd at the immigration shed was “typically large, and greetings profuse.” Readers also learned that the packet boat had docked safely at the wharf with 166 passengers, fifty-nine crew members and one stowaway on board. Among the

contents of the ship’s hold were 1,050 barrels of sperm oil, the catch of a whaling brig that had landed in Brava the previous autumn. Most of the ladies aboard were dressed “very good,” the paper also related, several of them showing off light silk dresses in “gaudy hues.”⁹

The packet schedule typically picked up in spring and summer to answer demand by Cape Verdean workers headed to the cranberry bogs in Cape Cod for seasonal picking work. Papayas, oranges and guava paste filled the ships on their westward trips, while vessels sailing east usually carried passengers going home to visit family. With them traveled clothing, an assortment of American-manufactured goods and supplies of coffee and sugar, all stowed tightly in the blue-painted drums known as *bidons*. Alfred (Freddie) Gonsalves remembered helping his father, Julius Henrique Gonsalves (known to all as Mocho) in the 1950s pack the heavy fifty-five-gallon *bidons* with candy, clothes and toys before driving them by truck to the Providence wharves. “We did it for almost anyone in Norwich who wanted to send stuff over,” he related. Freddie also remembered the Cape Verdean sailors flirting with girls on shore in the hopes of finding an American wife.

While sending provisions, money and occasional luxuries home helped Cape Verdean immigrants to stay connected, it also communicated a myth of plenty to their friends and families

⁸ Between 1889 and 1899, about 200 packet travelers made passage annually between Cape Verde and New England; that number had increased to about 1,900 by 1921.

⁹ “Immigrants Arrive,” *The Evening Standard* (New Bedford, MA, April 18, 1910), 4.

back home. “They would take dime store watches as gifts,” recalled Freddie’s sister, Judy Gonsalves Gomes. “They thought the streets were paved with gold.”

Memories of packet travel, which ended with the last transatlantic voyage of the schooner *Ernestina* in 1965, was deeply enmeshed with emotional family partings. The lonely journey of Judy and Freddie’s father, Mocho Gonsalves, from Brava to the U.S. took place in 1928, when he was just fourteen years old and sailing alone, bound for work on his father’s pig farm in Wareham, Massachusetts. In Cape Verdean tradition, members of Mocho’s extended family gathered at the wharf in Furna to see him off. Mocho would later recount how he kept shifting his place on the ship’s railing so he could keep them all in sight until the very last moment. “That was his last memory of those left behind,” Judy recalled. “They all knew that this parting was as permanent as death.”

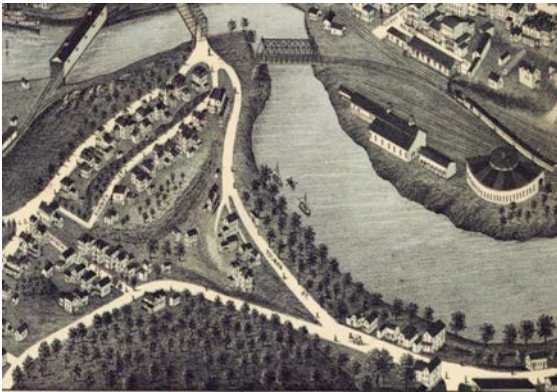
Mocho Gonsalves’s solitary trip to the United States represented a pattern of so-called chain migration, in which émigrés often began the relocation process as single men. Limited resources meant that Cape Verdean families like his typically arrived in this country in bits and pieces, hoping, but never certain, that they would be made whole again. The Gonsalves’s journey to a new life started with Mocho’s father, Henrique Gonsalves Penha. Henrique had a plan to bring over his entire family, one member at a time, to join him. Diane DePina Groner related that her father, James Leon DePina, came with his parents and three brothers, but two more brothers remained in Cape Verde, to join him some time later. Julio Rodrigues Vaz and Eva DePina Vaz also left behind several children when they emigrated to Talman Street from Fogo in 1956. Among them, Sam Vaz, Dominica Vaz Silver and Augusta Nova Vaz Edwards, shared memories of a sad and difficult effort, by way of Lisbon, Portugal, to rejoin their parents in Norwich. “I cried the whole time,” revealed Nova, explaining that families could be separated for years in this way. Two Gonsalves brothers eventually did follow Mocho to the U.S., but his mother fell ill and he never saw her again. It was a half-century before he was able to return to Cape Verde; many of his fellow countrymen never found a way back.

Laura Pina, another Talman Street resident, was also separated from her family when in 1958 she came from Fogo to Norwich at the age of eighteen to wed a much older man in a union arranged by an uncle. “When I look back, I don’t know how I survived,” Laura reflected. “It was a culture shock,” but she says she agreed because she was conditioned to “follow” her culture. “I was obligated, emotionally and morally, she said. “America was the goal.”



Maria De Jesus Victo Rodrigues moved to 165 Talman Street from Providence with her husband Belmiro Rodrigues around 1926. A barge worker, Belmiro is rumored to have occasionally run bootleg liquor along the New England coast. He died in 1932 at the age of thirty-eight leaving Maria to raise nine children on her own. “She used to like sitting there,” recalled her granddaughter, Denise Gonzales Morgan. “She recognized people by their cars. She knew what time this one was coming home from work. She knew the sound of their horns.”

Neighborhood Life: Talman Street and Laurel Hill



This 1876 birds-eye view of Norwich identifies Talman Street, running parallel to the Shetucket River as “Tolman” Street. Laurel Hill is shown to the lower left. (Sunnyside Avenue is off the map.) In the early years, day labor was the rule for most of the city’s Cape Verdean residents. Some walked to jobs at the Norwich & Worcester Railroad roundhouse, pictured across the river to the right. After the American Thermos Co. located to Laurel Hill in 1912, many locals found work there. The Van Tassel Co., which processed leather on the west side of town, was another employer of Cape Verdeans.

Denise Gonzales Morgan, who grew up in the 1950s near Maria Rodrigues, where she was raised by her grandmother in a Victorian house still standing at 165 Talman Street. “There were grapevines and roses,” she related. “You could smell them just walking up the street.” The neighborhood was neat, with its sidewalks and stairs perpetually swept clean. “As many children as there were on the street,” added Mary Cardoza, who was raised as one of nine children in a



roomy wood-framed house at 93 Talman Street, “you never saw one piece of paper.” Most yards had apple or pear trees, and most families kept a few chickens, a few pigs, rabbits and some goats. The Cardozas had two gardens and two cows.

Senhorina Cardoza, a pipe-smoking neighborhood matriarch better known as Shuma, raised nine children in this house at 93 Talman Street, and remained here until her death at 98 years old. Friends often ended their day shooting the breeze on “Shuma’s Porch,” which had a view all the way down to the Laurel Avenue Bridge. Woodstoves provided heat for the fifteen-room house, which for many years had no central heating. The Cardozas were the first Cape Verdeans on the street to get a telephone, in 1946.

In reflecting on their heritage, most members of Norwich’s Cape Verdean community identify the stability provided by family and neighbors as a major foundation of their childhoods. Life in the small districts around Talman Street and Sunnyside Avenue where they grew up focused on the familiar rhythms of work, gardening and chores, which differed little from household to household. While neither neighborhood was exclusively Cape Verdean in its population, a strong concentration of families from Cape Verde did give these areas a certain “old country” flavor, accentuated by the small scale of the neighborhoods and distinctive stonework added by Cape Verdean masons. Maria Rodrigues remarked on the particular way that Talman Street evokes villages in the islands— noting a similar pattern of terraced buildings and staircases climbing the ridge to the south, along with the small yards that were once filled with animal pens and vegetable gardens. “Talman Street was a beautiful street years ago,” concurred

Although precise numbers are difficult to track, information from census records and street directories indicates that Cape Verdeans began settling on Talman Street around 1880. They arrived somewhat later on Sunnyside Avenue, probably around the 1920s, moving into older residences and building new ones of their own. The first generation of men typically worked as day laborers. Manuel Santos, among the first recorded Cape Verdean residents of Talman Street (renting at no. 93 as of 1900), was employed as a coal shoveler, possibly at Allyn’s Point, which was the terminus of the Norwich & Worcester Railroad from 1843 to 1899. Santos’s fellow countrymen held similar types of jobs, as ditch diggers and pipe layers on road and railroad crews or found other

work that did not require the ability to read, write or speak English. On Talman Street, where some of the roomy homes contained extra apartments, crowded households often absorbed boarders, and it was not unusual for family members to stay put for generations. Mary Gomes Barboza, for example, moved into no. 123 with her parents in the 1930s when she was five years old, and she raised her own family in the same two-and-one-half-story house.



Gonsalves family homes at 56, 58 and 60 Sunnyside Avenue commanded the top of “the hill,” where Mocho Gonsalves, a stonemason, improved the steep terrain by adding walls and terraces (see opposite).

Denise Gonzales Morgan described how much activity in the extended household of her widowed grandmother, Maria Victo Rodrigues, revolved around the cooking she did on their wood- and coal-fueled stove. A pot of rice and meat always simmered on the back burner, and little meals would appear on saucers when one of her many uncles, who supported the family, stopped in after work. “They were magic pans with endless bottoms,” marveled Denise, who added, “There was always enough food for everybody.” Her grandmother Maria, born on the island of Santo Antao, was an “old-school matriarch,” who never drove a car and chatted to her goat in Kriolu. “She would fold all the laundry, put it neatly away, wait for one of the kids to come home from school, then she would walk across the

bridge to buy her groceries at the A & P.” Everyone was so well-tuned to one another’s rhythms, added Denise, that it “was almost as if the clock didn’t exist.”

On late summer afternoons, Talman Street came alive after the men had come home from work and eaten an early supper. Out came the guitars and pipes—especially on “Shuma” Cardoza’s porch, a favored spot for a good smoke and conversation. Thursday was the time to walk “down city” on the one evening Norwich stores stayed open until nine o’clock.

Local children enjoyed a particular camaraderie. All attended grammar school together at the Bishop School on nearby East Main Street, walking there un-chaperoned in the morning and returning home for lunch. The kids made their own fun, spending endless hours playing stickball and picking blueberries on the ridge. When it snowed, they would slide down Talman Street on big cardboard boxes, posting someone at the bottom to alert them to traffic hazards. Many remembered buying nickel bottles of Coke and choosing penny candy sold from giant jars by the Markoffs, Russian immigrants who kept shop near the east end of the street at no. 166. No. 102 Talman Street also had a little general store owned by the Alves family. The local kids all knew it was time to come in when a certain streetlight went on.

April Kolodnicki Araujo had similar recollections of Sunnyside Avenue. “The kids created their own community, so they were their own best friends,” she said. A tangle of close family connections in that neighborhood derived in part from the fact that April’s grandfather’s brother married her grandmother’s sister (meaning that her grandparents, Frank and Delia Perry, were first cousins).



Mocho and Lydia Perry Gonsalves began building No. 56 Sunnyside Avenue in 1931. Stone walls, terraces, birdbaths and barbecues crafted in his spare time by Mocho, a hardworking stonemason remembered as a “working dervish,” still add character to the neighborhood. Lydia Gonsalves delighted local teenage girls by offering them her large stone patio for outdoor parties with local boys.

By many recollections, the unofficial matriarch of Sunnyside Avenue was Maria Gonsalves Perry Gomes, who had moved—no one is sure when—with her husband Phillip Perry to Norwich from Wareham, Massachusetts on Cape Cod. According to one family story, the couple settled on top of the hill, because no one on the more desirable Laurel Hill Avenue was willing to sell to people of color. Assembling a substantial amount of property, Maria divided off pieces for her children as needed. Her daughter Lydia began building her own house with her husband Mocho Gonsalves at 56 Sunnyside Avenue in 1931. Their daughter, Judy Gonsalves Gomes, who grew up there in the 1950s and 1960s, recalled a well-kept blue-collar neighborhood where people owned their own homes and took pride in their yards. Judy described life on Sunnyside Avenue as very “clannish,” but in the best sense of the word. She can think of only one family that were not blood relatives. “Aunt Ruthie,” in her nineties, lives on the street to this day. Another resident, Barbara Gomes, calculated that in the 1960s when she was growing up on Sunnyside Avenue, there were 123 people living in the neighborhood, and 102 of them were Cape Verdean.

According to Jeffrey Abel Rose, the web of connections there pulled tighter when three close male friends from Norwich—his father Ken Rose among them—married three close female friends from New Bedford. Most of those unions produced prodigious numbers of children. “So we had this massive family,” Jeffrey explained, “and everyone on that entire street did everything together.” If the clan wasn’t in Norwich, they could probably be found camping out together on the plot of land his grandfather Abel Perry (known as Bei) owned in Wareham. It was impossible to get away with anything, emphasized Freddie Gonsalves, because even the few people who weren’t relatives might as well have been. “If I was walking up there and did something wrong, before I got home, my mother would know it,” he recalled.

Daniel Rose, raised on Sunnyside Avenue in the 1960s, also remembered the “driveway gatherings” pulled together by Bei Perry and his good friend Frank Perry. “Whenever there was a setting that we could put a couple of chairs together,” he said, “it was time to pull the guitars out and sing.” Those impromptu get-togethers were often extensions of evenings at the Santiago Society, the popular social club incorporated in 1939 by Louis B. Vincent, Antonio G. Barboza and Joseph C. Delgado to provide “recreation, instruction and amusement” to members. Furnished with a bar, pool table, stage and dance hall, the club found its home in a refurbished house at 84 Talman Street until the building burned in 2007.

As the bedrock of the local Cape Verdean community, the Santiago Society was the favored choice for birthday parties, wedding receptions and festivities of all descriptions. On most weekends, crowds piled in for dances, talent shows and band performances, especially when word got out that the Santos Brothers were playing. Made up of a group of local siblings—Abel (Bel), Antonio (Tony), Matthew (Tia) and José (Joe), the Santos band specialized in traditional Cape Verdean music, thus helping spread the club’s reputation and attract patrons from all over Connecticut, as well as from Rhode Island and Massachusetts. (Manuel Santos, Tia’s stepson, later joined the band.)



“Aunty Mary” Santos, longtime permittee of the Santiago Society and her husband Abel Santos, guitarist with the Santos Brothers Band, lived above the club. The couple was its face in the 1970s and 1980s. “Mary would greet you with a ‘hello’ and a smile and never let anyone intimidate her,” related Roberta Delgado Vincent. “She expected patrons to act accordingly, and “would give you her opinion when you did not.



Members of the Santos Brothers Band jam at the Santiago Club in 1967. The brothers picked up Cape Verdean music—which has its own beat and language—by ear, learning from their father Manuel Santos, who played a traditional Cape Verdean viola. Their sister, Lena Rose, sometimes joined the group as vocalist.

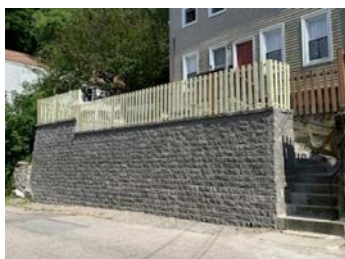
Described as “a melting pot for all cultures,” the club also became a popular spot for locals to share their heritage with non-Cape Verdean friends. The neighborhood ladies would dish up Cape Verdean specialties like *cachupa* and the chicken soup called *canja* to sell by the plate for fundraisers, and for the nights when the bands came in. “All the women wore zip-up aprons—it was kind of their uniform,” related Heather Santos Aldi, a club devotee. Heather is among many to recall the formidable presence of longtime bartender and permittee, Mary Santos. “Aunty Mary” lived with her husband, band member Abel Santos, above the society headquarters and the couple were the faces of the club for all who entered. A tiny woman admired for her ability to seem larger than life, Mary “could hear everything through the floorboards, and let nothing run past her.”

Back in the day, “dime dances,” in which men paid ten cents for a dance, were popular, along with Friday night bingo games.

The Santiago Society also provided an important place for neighborhood men to unwind on Sundays after a long week of very hard work. Children kept a polite distance as these respected elders played their weekly games of Bisca, a Portuguese variant of the Italian game Briscola. Slapping down their cards with a warlike fierceness, the men talked away in Kriolu, always managing to understand each other despite the din of dialects from their different islands. Throughout its history, the club also raised money for numerous charitable causes, and maintained a long tradition of helping members in need. Sports leagues were a fixture in later years, and a summer cookout—held variously at Fort Shantock, Hopeville Pond and Mohegan Park—was the focal point for family reunions. Heather Santos Aldi, who took over as permittee, maintained that she simply could not have imagined her social life as a teenager in the 1970s without this institution of Cape Verdean life and culture. “It was a weekly thing going to the Santiago Club,” she asserted, “just like going to church.”

The Cape Verdean Identity: Family, Work, Love

By the 1950s, many of the neighborhood residents who unwound after work at the Santiago Club



This striking wall at 117 Talman Street is the work of Sam Vaz.

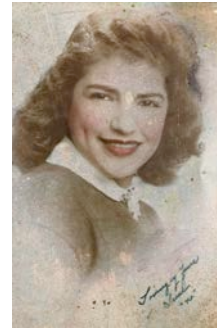
had followed their American dream into well-paying, blue-collar jobs, pursuing careers in the Merchant Marine or finding employment at local firms like the American Thermos Bottle Company, which had moved from Brooklyn, New York to Laurel Hill Avenue in 1912. The Van Tassel Company, the leather-processing plant on Norwich’s West Side, also continued to employ many members of the immigrant community. Many entered jobs after the war, advanced and stayed for decades in companies like Electric Boat (later General Dynamics), manufacturer of nuclear submarines in

Groton; the Millstone Nuclear Plant in nearby Waterford; and Dow Chemical in Ledyard.

Following World War II, it was increasingly common for Cape Verdean-American women to work outside the home. They, too, found steady work at American Thermos (just a walk down the hill from Sunnyside Avenue), on factory lines in local textile mills or other plants and as aides at the Norwich State Hospital, a psychiatric facility closed in 1996. Lena Marie Santos Rose, the singing sister who sometimes joined her brothers' band (the Santos Brothers), served as president of a flourishing concrete and construction company in Plainfield, Connecticut. That firm was operated by her husband Daniel Joseph Rose and two of their sons.

In praising the work ethic of their grandparents and parents—a universal theme—Norwichers expressed particularly deep respect for their skills and perseverance. “My grandfather was amazing; he was the best artisan with his hands, and he could build anything,” said Jeffrey Rose of Bei Perry. Bei worked in construction when he wasn't butchering livestock for local farmers, who often paid him with meat. “Electrical work, woodwork, cement work. There was nothing he couldn't do—he would measure things by eye,” recalled Jeffrey. Most saw the resilience and adaptability that underlay hard work as cultural traits, but also described them as necessities integral to the immigrant experience. “This was the opportunity for which they had been longing,” explained Judy Gonsalves Gomes. “My father [Mocho Gonsalves] used to say that no matter how hard you worked in your own country, you couldn't get ahead. You could only just eke out what your family needed to survive. But here you could make something.” There was a lot at stake, added Mary Cardoza Silva. “You left your country, you left your family, you left your surroundings to come to America for a better life.” Mocho Gonsalves made sure he did not miss his own chance: He got his first job as a stone mason by lying about past experience (he had absolutely none) and borrowing a sledge hammer from his uncle before showing up for his first day on the job.

Mocho was a proud member of a large community of area stone masons that also included Earl Vera; José Santos; Belmiro Martin Rodrigues (known to all as Poncho); Poncho's son, Belmiro Rodrigues, better known as Junie; and Sam Vaz, all of Cape Verdean descent. In featuring some of these artisans in the 2006 exhibit, “A Life in Stone,” organized for the Norwich Cultural Arts and History Project, curator Elanah Sherman noted their intuitive creativity. Among them, Junie Rodrigues, still active in the family business, explained that most of his inspiration comes from within. “When I build a wall, I feel that I'm part of that wall,” Junie told Elanah. “It's a part of my past and my present and my future. It's timeless.” The walls, stairways, paths and other projects both artistic and utilitarian fabricated by the men since the early 1900s embody a heritage brought to the United States from the Cape Verde islands, where wood is scarce and native balsatic rock has figured strongly in building traditions for centuries.



Irene Penha Gonsalves Gomes was born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island and lived at several addresses on Sunnyside Avenue. Irene was a dress and window designer who managed the Norwich store Reid and Hughes.



Joseph Perry Jr. leans on a wall built by his uncle, Earl Vera, at 101 Fitchville Road in Uncasville.

Cape Verdean Stonemasons: A Life in Stone

Among the master stonemasons who are especially well remembered in the Norwich Cape Verdean community are Julius (Mocho) Gonsalves, Belmiro (Poncho) Rodrigues and José Santos. Friends and colleagues, they relied instinctively on an inherited custom of apprenticeship, gaining skills on the job. Poncho learned at the side of José, and José trained with Mocho.

Julius (Mocho) Gonsalves (1909–91)



After immigrating to the U.S. from Brava in 1928, Mocho Gonsalves had many jobs, including work on his father's pig farm and a stint in the Merchant Marine. He married Lydia Perry in 1934, and they had four children: Alfred, Judith, Elaine and Jean. In order to support this growing family, Mocho knew he would need steady employment. He borrowed tools, learned the trade and established the successful masonry contracting business, Julius Gonsalves & Son. Mocho provided many young émigrés from Cape Verde with their first jobs in the United States. The company is still operated by his son Freddie, who joined in 1964.

Belmiro Martin (Poncho) Rodrigues (1926–2006)



By the age of six, Poncho Rodrigues had gone to work shining shoes. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1943–49, the year he married Francisca DaLuz; they settled in Norwich in 1950 and raised seven children. Poncho first worked in construction, gaining a reputation for his expertise in handling stone. He founded his own business, B. Rodrigues Masonry, in 1963. His meticulously fabricated projects, pieced together stone by stone, appear throughout southeastern Connecticut. “When I’m building walls, I can hear my father: ‘Do it this way, do it that way,’ ” recalled his son Junie. “If it wasn’t good, he would tear it down. That was good, because being a minority, I felt there was a higher standard for us. It had to be perfect.”

José M. Santos Sr. (1926–2016)



José Santos Sr. was still on the job at B. Rodrigues Masonry the day he died. Working for Poncho Rodrigues evolved from guesswork. “You had to learn to figure out what he’d want and when,” José recalled. He’d be pointing, “That one!” No, that one! I’d finally get the right stone and tie it on a rope, and he would pull it up. It would fit every time.” José is a well-remembered member of the Santos Brothers Band. He was also a veteran of World War II, serving in both the Army and the Navy.

Junie Rodrigues described how the masons collected stones heaved up from the ground after the spring thaw, choosing and placing each one individually as though piecing together a puzzle. “You can take me anywhere and I can show you a wall that my father has built,” claimed Junie’s sister, Antoinette Rodrigues.



Local Cape Verdeans often collected stones from local farms to build walls like this one, built by Poncho Rodrigues for Joseph C. Delgado, 165 (R) Talman Street.

Both Junie Rodrigues and Freddie Gonsalves expressed pride in working with their fathers, but also say that their parents’ work ethic cost them a small part of their youths. Junie started at Poncho’s side at about age seven, when he began working summers. Freddie remembers that when he turned fourteen it was assumed he would enter the business, but there was no discussion. “I just went to work,” he told Elanah Sherman, describing long hours. “The day was done when my father said it was done.” For most, there simply was no questioning that kind of loyalty or the work ethic that drove it. According to Daniel Rose, “It is something that was expected. The foundation blocks were taught to you very early.”

For some, caring for younger siblings meant cutting schooling short. Mary Cardoza Silva, born on Talman Street in 1932, for example, related that at age sixteen all four of her brothers dropped out of Norwich Free Academy where they attended high school to start earning extra income for the family. By the time that Ricardo (Ricky) Rodrigues, born fifteen years after Mary, was growing up (first on Talman Street and later on Sunnyside Avenue), there was more emphasis on school. “You worked hard and you got an education. That was how you got ahead,” said Ricky. When a sister threatened to drop out of school, he recalled, their mother got her GED in order to convince her to stay and finish.

That viewpoint, however, only came into focus over time. Jeffrey Rose, who graduated from Yale in 1984, explained that his grandfather, Abel Perry Sr., did not stress college for his children, but set his sights differently for the next generation. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was relatively easy to go straight from high school into a well-paying blue-collar job, Jeffrey pointed out. In those days it was not terribly difficult to buy a home and support a family without a



Mary Santos and Anthony DelGado were wed in 1939. Anthony provided for his family with a steady job as a garment presser at the Red Tag Laundry.

college education. Yet the older generations were also acutely aware that they had far less control over their time than did their employers. “They worked incessantly,” he said of his elders. “Education was a movement to get their grandchildren and great grandchildren to be successful.” Above all, Abel Perry did not want to see his grandchildren laboring with their hands. His idea of success for Jeffrey was a job “where you wear a shirt and tie every day.”

Lydia Gonsalves was among those who desired an education for their children precisely because circumstances had required her to drop out of school. Lydia, who didn’t speak English until she went to grammar school, nevertheless valued education and was “self-taught in everything.” Sisters Laura and Brenda DelGado recall the similar drive of their father, Anthony DelGado Sr., who they described as an avid reader. “There was an environment of doing better, of reading, of absolutely furthering yourself,” said Brenda. Many parents, Lydia Gonsalves included, discouraged speaking Kriolu in their households because they wanted their children to speak

“proper” English. “In the end, they wanted us to be Americanized,” Mary Cardoza Silva explained, revealing that her mother, Shuma Cardoza, knew only how to write her name in English. She wanted something more for her children.

Changing Times and the Culture of Community

Although members of Norwich’s Cape Verdean community increasingly benefited from better education and employment opportunities, upward mobility was to ultimately cause the dissolution



The Delgado children pose for a photo on the first day of school, 1952. The family moved from Boswell Avenue to Talman Street in 1964. Rear, left to right: Anthony Jr., Delores, Roberta; front, Laura and Brenda

of Norwich’s Cape Verdean communities. Laura Pina said that in 1958 when she arrived at Talman Street as a young bride from Fogo, the younger generation was already leaving. “The next generation was always doing better,” she said. Because people had better salaries, the need to depend on neighbors was fading, and families were in search of larger houses with bigger yards. Jimmy Barboza related that when in the 1960s his parents (Maria and Tia Santos) moved away from Sunnyside Avenue to Norwich’s West Side, they were going on “to bigger and better things”—even though they encountered prejudice as the only Cape Verdean family on their new street.

To visit Talman Street today is to experience a neighborhood very much changed. The Santiago Society club building was destroyed by fire on January 23, 2007, and almost all of the houses on the north side of the street have been razed in anticipation of a redevelopment project that has failed to materialize. The Sunnyside Avenue neighborhood is physically less changed than Talman Street, although some former residents have noted that a growing number of absentee owners is leading to deterioration of properties. Only a handful of Cape Verdean families remain. Among them, April Kolodnicki Araujo has moved into the home of her grandparents, Frank and Delia Perry,

at 9 Clay Avenue. “I did it out of respect for the hard work that they did to get this house,” she said. “I have a lot of good memories.”

Many feel the loss of a simpler time, when doors were never locked, and everybody looked out for everyone else. “Our house was always filled with different people,” says Brenda DelGado, whose mother Mary served as neighborhood interpreter. “We didn’t know what they were saying, but we knew that our mother was helping them.” Her neighbor Antonio Barboza (Tunin) was also a local “help man,” who filled out applications for people who were not able to write in English.

Even when resources were limited, a deep-seated Cape Verdean penchant for thrift and resourcefulness created a sense of plenty. Maria Rodrigues McBride related that during the Depression years, her grandmother boiled coffee grounds down in cheesecloth to stretch her supply. “She always had a way to find something for people,” said Maria. The Barbozas marveled at their own comfortable childhoods, given the way their father patched together work to support them. “He did everything,” said Roy. “Sometimes he had two or



Left to right: Manuel Cardoza, Charlie and Frances (Beebe) Marceline and Shuma Cardoza—familiar faces on Talman Street.

three jobs in a day.” Money often ran short when the weather got cold. “He raised chickens so we could eat all winter long,” added Roy’s sister, Linda Barboza Hill. Gardens provided plenty of fresh produce, meals were simple but good and neighbors shared whatever they had. Laura Pina recalled a remarkable openness to newcomers. “They took me in like a daughter,” she said of the time when she arrived at Talman Street from Fogo without knowing a soul other than her new husband. Even the kids got into the spirit. If someone didn’t have roller skates, they would pool their supply and everyone would make do with one. “You look out for one another; you help one another; you leave no kid behind, summed up Judy Gonsalves Gomes. “And you keep family strong. The family is everything. When that’s strong, the community will be strong.”

Growing up in the insular embrace of such a neighborhood provided a particular sense of wellbeing for Dolores Rodrigues, among many others. “It was definitely a village, and they raised us all,” Dolores reminisced, adding, “It was a wonderful upbringing for that age. Almost so much so, that I felt very naïve when I got out into the real world, because we were so protected.”

Mary Cardoza Silva described the same street as a “communal melting pot,” where Cape Verdeans and their neighbors—including Poles, Irish, Italians and Greeks—all got along. Yet she also acknowledged that despite its well-kept



Matthew (Tia), José Santos, Sr., Antonio (Tony) and Abel (Bel) Santos of the Santos Brothers Band, c. 2003 (Connecticut Historical Society).



“We were safe, protected and loved,” Dolores Rodrigues said of her childhood on Talman Street, where her sister Lillian and she posed for this circa 1955 photograph.

aspect, outsiders looking in regarded the neighborhood as “poor,” because it was associated with Cape Verdeans—e.g., people of color. Awareness of being differentiated by race and ethnicity increased for many as they left their childhoods behind.

Simultaneously, pride in their Cape Verdean identity emerged when entry into middle and high school exposed them to students from varied backgrounds and other parts of town. “You felt the difference in your ethnic background for sure,” said Dolores Rodrigues, remembering that she met her first black friend at Norwich Free Academy, Norwich’s only public high school. Like many, she also remembers being asked outright, “What are you?”—a question still posed today.

“At NFA, no one knew who Cape Verdeans were, not even the teachers,” maintained Denise Gonzales Morgan. “We could have said we were a cat or a dog and they wouldn’t have been any more surprised than our saying we were Cape Verdean.” A young standout on the football field, Daniel Rose, however, felt a sense of belonging at the same school owing to a legacy of Cape Verdean sports stars. “The younger athletes looked to the examples of Cape Verdean athletes and wanted to maintain that tradition,” he said.

“We felt a sense of needing to always be there for each other.” Freddie Gonsalves, who attended the same school in the 1950s, asserted he knew he was black because he was treated as black. “There was no place for me with the white kids there,” he said. Freddie is not alone in remembering a Norwich restaurant that threw plates away after serving people of color. Blacks could not go to a “white” salon or barbershop to get their hair cut. Some mentioned hearing slurs yelled from cars as they walked to school or being heckled by white parents while playing baseball. Friction with the city’s black community was accentuated by the internal lines of racial

demarcation drawn between Norwich’s West Side, traditional residence of the city’s African American community, and the Cape Verdean neighborhoods on the East Side of town. “ ‘You girls always thought you were better,’ ” Roberta Delgado Vincent recalled a West Sider once accusing her—“meaning that I was a Cape Verdean.” Real or perceived, those divisions underscored a disconcerting paradox. “As I grew up in Norwich, the white people didn’t accept me as white. The black people didn’t accept me as black,” recalled Sylvanna Santos. “Where do I fit?” As Junie Rodrigues said, “We were always caught up in the middle.”



Left to right: Manuel (Fato) Cardoza Jr., Adeline Santos Simmons and her husband John Simmons. These members of the Santiago Society (opposite) were instrumental in keeping the club going in its later years by putting on fundraisers. Fato served as one-time club permittee.

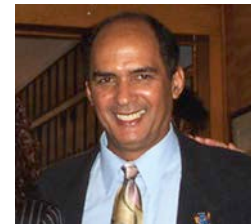
By the 1960s, Jeffery Rose says he and his peers were already identifying themselves ethnically as Cape Verdean, making it a point to mark “other” on paperwork for “nationality,” and filling in “Cape Verdean.” Jeffrey commented, “I’ve always had a strong pride in my Cape Verdean heritage. Still do and always will.”



Denise Gonzales Morgan argued that the pride was always there, “but it was a hidden factor,” emerging as a facet of better education and increased exposure to the culture. More exposure came during the independence movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Some see appreciation for their African heritage as the

logical next step in an evolving process of cultural self-awareness. As Sylvanna Santos said, “I’m proud to be an African because that’s what Cape Verdeans are.”

Pride has continued to grow parallel to increasing publicity for Norwich’s Cape Verdean community, inspired in part with a visit by the Cape Verdean prime minister, José Maria Neves, to the city in 2007, the same year the first Feast of St. Anthony was celebrated here. In 2019, the city’s first Cape Verdean festival, sponsored by Global City Norwich, under the auspices of the Norwich Community Development Corporation, offered participants a day of Cape Verdean art, dance, music and food. In June 2021, members of the local Cape Verdean community commemorated their long history in the city with a Cape Verdean flag-raising ceremony on the steps of Norwich City Hall. The same month, St. Anthony’s chapel, the tiny shrine built by Talman Street resident Joseph C. Delgado—and now replicated on the grounds of St. Mary’s Church in the city’s Greenville section—became the first site in Connecticut to be honored with a marker as part of the Legends and Lore program. Established in 2015 by the New York-based William G. Pomeroy Foundation, the program provides the markers to inspire pride of place and to encourage awareness of meaningful local stories.

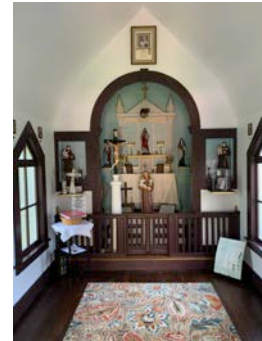


Speaking at St. Anthony’s Chapel in 2005, José Brito, Cape Verdean Ambassador to the U.S. expressed pride in the effort to maintain the Cape Verdean heritage by reconstructing the building. “It shows that there is another island here in Norwich,” Brito said.

The list of local citizens of Cape Verdean heritage who have enriched that pride of place through their contributions to Norwich society is long and impressive. It includes local business owners, educators and members of the judiciary. Cape Verdeans raised in Norwich have also held positions in the city administration and served on the local and state police force. Among them, Joseph Perry Jr., interviewed for this project, became the first person of color to command Connecticut’s police force, in 1992. Cape Verdeans from local families are also proud

St. Anthony's Chapel: A Sacred Place Filled with Memories and Meaning

St. Anthony's Chapel stood for many years as an unassuming but meaningful landmark at 165 (R) Talman Street on the property of Joseph C. Delgado (1881–1967). As a young man, Joseph Delgado, born Josef Delgad on the island of Sao Nicolau, had hoped to be a priest. His family's impoverished circumstances precluded his attending seminary, and around 1908 the young Delgado emigrated to the U.S. Traveling on the bark *Emma R. Smith*, he worked as a carpenter's assistant.



In Providence, Rhode Island, he met his future bride, Geraldina Almeida Soares. The two moved to Norwich around 1912. After seeing a similar chapel in a dream, Delgado, who made his living as carpenter and barber, fabricated the diminutive wood-framed building in his spare time. This private shrine measured 16 x 9 feet and was so small that his children thought he was making them a playhouse. This tiny, sacred space fascinated the neighborhood children. Carved statues of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, St. Anthony, St. Anne and St. Therese decorated the tiny altar, and small paintings depicting the fourteen stages of the cross appeared on the walls. An old barber pole, painted white, held a small crucifix.

The building was “baptized” on July 4, 1926, and thereafter used for family prayers and quiet contemplation. Joseph Delgado is described as a humble and dignified man, who served as an informal neighborhood banker and would often walk downtown—impeccably dressed—to watch a project under construction. “He was bigger than life,” said his granddaughter, Brenda DelGado. “Everyone knew him and would call out to him.” Following Joseph's death in 1967, the chapel fell into disrepair, but was refurbished and rededicated on April 29, 1977, when it was blessed by the Rev. Daniel P. Reilly, former Bishop of the Diocese of Norwich.

In 2003 the chapel was placed on the State Register of Historic Places. New owners took down the building, but it gained new life in 2006, when it was carefully reconstructed by Alfred H. Gonsalves on the grounds of St. Mary's Church in the city's Greenville section based on measured drawings prepared by the local architect Richard Sharpe, reusing some of the original fabric. The chapel remains a symbol of the arrival, settlement and establishment of the Cape Verdean people in Connecticut.

of their honored with playing fields. The Frank A. Delgado softball field in Raymond Ouellet Park recalls Frank's service on the Norwich Recreation Advisory Board. The Luis DePina Recreation Fields (baseball, soccer and softball) on Mohegan Road recall the contributions of their namesake, who served as the city's recreation director for twenty-five years.



The Frank Delgado softball field is in the Raymond Cit Ouellet Park on Canterbury Turnpike.

the stories of this rich immigrant community, while tracking neighborhood development and the places that were important to the Cape Verdeans who contributed to the history and culture of Norwich. The resource guide on the following pages is intended



On April 9, 2022, Connecticut Secretary of State Denise Merrill honored Talman Street with four markers bearing the name Cabo Verde Way to memorialize Norwich's early Cape Verdean immigrants and the culture and traditions they brought to the city. Celebrants included (left to right): the Rev. Robert Washabaugh, St. Mary's Church; Roberta Vincent; Norwich Mayor Peter Nystrom; Kate Schramm, Connecticut Historical Society; Adam L. Richardson, Executive Assistant to the Secretary of State; and Alfred Gonsalves.

populations in the development of Connecticut's cities. Often overlooked, that contribution is especially important to understanding and interpreting the ways that ethnic neighborhoods shape the culture of communities by embodying patterns of how people lived, worked, socialized, worshipped and prospered. In this way their stories are the essence of what it is to be a society.



Self-taught artist Jo-Jo Kolodnicki Jr. (1976-2018), who painted this image of zebras, began to draw as a child, encouraged by his mother, Virginia Perry Kolodnicki, one-time resident of Clay Avenue. Jo-Jo won first prize for his pencil drawing of Abraham Lincoln in 2011 at the city's Enabled06360 exhibition. The work was presented to the city at Norwich City Hall in 2019.

Through oral history gathering and GIS mapping, this study attempts to capture

to raise awareness of significant sources for the study of Cape

Verdean culture in Southern New England that amplify understanding of local populations in cities like Norwich, where research and documentation have been scarce. It should also help researchers in tracing family members who emigrated from Cape Verde during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially those individuals who sailed to New England aboard whaleships. It is hoped that this report will also provide the necessary context for updating nominations to the National Register of Historic Places for existing districts in Norwich that are potentially significant in the category of Ethnic Heritage, but do not presently include that category as an area of significance. In this way, St. Anthony's Chapel and other local landmarks might be considered for National Register status as part of larger districts.

A better understanding of the Cape Verdeans' place in Norwich history through this effort should also encourage interpretation of the valuable role played by immigrant

Oral History Participants

The following individuals contributed recorded interviews for this project. All oral histories were conducted by Rachel Carley on the dates indicated.

In Norwich:

Heather D. Aldi (September 20, 2021)
Marcellina (Santos) Aldi (September 20, 2021)
April (Kolodnicki) Araujo (September 29, 2021)
Benjamin R. Barboza (September 18, 2021)
Roy A. Barboza (July 29, 2021)
Jeanette (Gonsalves) Cardoza (September 28, 2021)
Brenda P. DelGado (August 26, 2021)
Laura DelGado-Clemons (August 26, 2021)
Ron Delgado (August 26, 2021)
Alinda DePina (July 13, 2021)
Angelina (Santos) Gardner (September 20, 2021)
Barbara A. Gomes (September 20, 2021)
Judy (Gonsalves) Gomes (September 10, 2021)
Alfred H. Gonsalves (August 10, 2021)
Trudi (Barboza) Gooden (July 29, 2021)
Diane (DePina) Groner (July 13, 2021)
Linda (Barboza) Hill (July 29, 2021)
Maria (Rodrigues) McBride (July 13, 2021)
Denise (Gonzales) Morgan (August 10, 2021)
Frank A. Perry (October 25, 2021)
Joseph A. Perry (September 28, 2021)
Laura A. (Pires) Pina (July 13, 2021)
Antoinetta Rodrigues (September 20, 2021)
Belmiro J. Rodrigues (September 20, 2021)
Dolores Rodrigues (July 13, 2021)
Marta Rodrigues (September 20, 2021)
Ricardo Rodrigues (July 13, 2021)
Daniel Rose (September 21, 2021)
Jeffrey A. Rose (September 18, 2021)
Tasha Rowe (September 20, 2021)
Antonio Santos, Jr. (September 18, 2021)
Sylvanna Santos (September 20, 2021)
Elanah Sherman (September 21, 2021)
Mary C. (Cardoza) Silva (October 25, 2021)
Dominica (Vaz) Silver (August 26, 2021)
Augusta Nova Vaz-Edwards (August 26, 2021)
Salomao R. Vaz (August 26, 2021)
Michelle “Shelito” Vincent (October 25, 2021)
Roberta J. (Delgado) Vincent (August 26, 2021)

Cape Verdean Student Group, Norwich Free Academy (September 19, 2021)

Aidelene Silva Alves
Jaslene Amado
Joal Andrade Barros
Angela Santana Benitez
Rodrigo Amado Gomes
Nahomi Labajos
Helder Texiera Mendes
Rafa Texiera Mendes
Alyssa Newson
Reese Newson
Keishla Altagracia Rodriguez
Adriana Amoao Rodrigues Silva
Ariana Amado Rodrigues Silva

In Hartford (November 29, 2021):

Edward F. Esteves
Gloria J. (Fernandes) McMullen
John Rose, Jr.
Patricia J. Wrice

Cape Verdean Resource Guide

Libraries, Colleges, Historical Societies, Museums and Special Archives

Bridgewater State University

131 Summer Street, Bridgewater, MA 02325

Pedro Pires Institute for Cape Verdean Studies (508) 531-2363

[<https://www.bridgew.edu/center/capeverdeanstudies>]

The institute sponsors conferences and lectures on Cape Verdean culture and publishes the peer-reviewed *Journal of Cape Verdean Studies*, which focuses on the creation and dissemination of research and scholarship relating to Cape Verde and the Cape Verdean transnational experience. Volumes 1–5 (2015–21) are available online [https://vc.bridgew.edu/jcvs/all_issues.html].

Cape Cod Cape Verdean Museum & Cultural Center

67 Davisville Road, East Falmouth, MA 02536

[<https://www.cccvmcc.org/>]

The museum promotes the history, culture and contemporary life of Cape Verdean migrants and other Portuguese-speaking communities in the Cape Cod region.

Cape Verdean Museum

1003 Waterman Ave., East Providence, RI 02914 (401) 228-7292

[<https://capeverdeanmuseum.org/>]

The only museum solely dedicated to celebrating the history and culture of Cape Verde and Cape Verdean-Americans collects artifacts, photographs, maps and crafts donated from around the world. Exhibits explore music and arts, the role of slavery and whaling in Cape Verdean history and the place of Cape Verdeans in the New England cranberry industry. The museum also houses a library of books and films related to Cape Verdean culture.

Casa Da Saudade Library

58 Crapo Street, New Bedford, MA 02740 (508) 991-6218

[<https://www.newbedford-ma.gov/library/locations/casa-da-saudade-library/>]

This branch of the New Bedford public library system has an extensive collection of works in Portuguese and Kriolu, as well as English-language publications and vertical files on Cape Verdean and Cape Verdean-American immigration and social issues. There are also specialized works focused on Cape Verdean contributions to New Bedford history, including those tracking Cape Verdean-American veterans from the area. Ongoing programs commemorate events such as Cape Verdean Independence Day and book releases by Portuguese authors.

Connecticut Historical Society

One Elizabeth St., Hartford, CT 06105 (860) 236-5621

[\[https://chs.org\]](https://chs.org)

Connecticut Cape Verdean Community History Project: Cape Verdeans in Connecticut

[\[http://www.folklorecollections.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/30852\]](http://www.folklorecollections.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/30852)

The CHS archives extensive materials that were collected in a three-year effort by the Connecticut Cultural Heritage Arts Program at the Institute for Community Research (Hartford) in partnership with the Cape Verdean Women's Social Club of Bridgeport, working with members of Cape Verdean communities in various Connecticut cities. Holdings include video and audio oral-history interviews; historical and family photographs and documents; and music recordings. The 1999 publication *Cape Verdeans in Connecticut* (see Published and Secondary Sources) with essays by scholars and historians, musicologists and folklorists, was a product of this effort, which also generated concert, dance and other events held at the Bridgeport Public Library and the Cape Verdean Social Club in Waterbury.

Harwich Historical Society

80 Parallel Street, Harwich, MA 02645 (508) 432-8089

[\[https://harwichhistoricalsociety.org/\]](https://harwichhistoricalsociety.org/)

Harwich attracted Cape Verdean workers in the 19th and 20th centuries as an early center of the cranberry industry. A large Cape Verdean colony formed locally, and ties still run deep between this part of Cape Cod and the Cape Verde Islands. The HHS collections contain oral histories with local Cape Verdean-Americans and publications on Cape Verdean history. A Cape Verdean outreach team also works with local schools.

Mystic Seaport Museum

75 Greenmanville Avenue, Mystic, CT 06355 (860) 572-0711

[\[https://www.mysticseaport.org/\]](https://www.mysticseaport.org/)

Collections Research Center (860) 572-5367

Mystic Seaport's resources, including publications, photography, manuscripts, films, oral histories, maps, collections and online databases, relating to New England's maritime heritage are vast. Among them are logbooks, accounts and journals associated with the whaling bark *Charles W. Morgan*, which employed a significant number of Cape Verdean crewmen

[\[https://research.mysticseaport.org/exhibits/morgan/cwm-library/\]](https://research.mysticseaport.org/exhibits/morgan/cwm-library/). Online databases include Charles W. Morgan Crewlists [\[https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/cwm-crew-lists/\]](https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/cwm-crew-lists/), Fall River Whaling Crewlists [\[https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/crew-lists-fall-river/\]](https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/crew-lists-fall-river/) and New London Whaling Crewlists [\[https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/crew-lists-new-london/\]](https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/crew-lists-new-london/), among others.

The digitized **Register of Seamen's Protection Certificates** includes sailor names, ages, birth and places of residence from the included on these pages is taken from the original "Registers of Seamen's Protection Certificates" issued at the custom houses of Fall River, Gloucester and Marblehead, and Salem, MA and New Haven and New London, CT and Newport, RI.

[\[https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/protection/\]](https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/protection/).

See also **Whaling History.org**. [<https://whalinghistory.org/>], connecting all things whaling to researchers, scholars, genealogists, educators and students. This website is a collaboration between **Mystic Seaport Museum** and the **New Bedford Whaling Museum** and includes the digitized **Whaling Crew List Database** [https://www.whalingmuseum.org/online_exhibits/crewlist/], which incorporates crew lists from New Bedford, Fall River and Salem, MA and New London, CT. [https://www.whalingmuseum.org/online_exhibits/crewlist/about.php].

Nantucket Historical Association

15 Broad Street, Nantucket, MA 02554 (508) 228-1894
[<https://nha.org/>]

Beginning in the 19th century, Nantucket whaleships routinely stopped at the Cape Verdean islands of Brava and Fogo to recruit crewmembers. Many of those men settled on Nantucket and found wives in this Massachusetts island's African American community. The Cape Verdean presence on Nantucket expanded after 1906, when the Burgess Cranberry Company established the largest commercial cranberry bog in the world there. By 1910 more than one hundred Cape Verdean men, women and children were involved with Burgess. Cape Verdeans also entered the Nantucket community as shellfishers, gardeners, carpenters, caretakers, cooks and domestic workers. The NHA collections preserve numerous ships' logs, charts, portraits and whaling journals with Cape Verdean associations.

New Bedford Free Public Library

613 Pleasant Street, New Bedford, MA 02740 (508) 991-6275
[<https://www.newbedford-ma.gov/library/locations/main-library/>]

The main library's reference section shelves numerous publications relating to Cape Verdean culture and history, along with vertical files on various Cape Verdean subjects. A comprehensive collection of immigration records through American ports (1823–1955) is also available here on microfilm.

The library's Special Collections Department (New Bedford History Room) is also a resource for numerous Cape Verdean-related archives. These include:

- Cape Verde American Citizen Club Collection, 1910-75. Compiled mostly by club secretary Joaquim M. Santos, this archive contains personal memorabilia, correspondence, records, lantern slides, newspapers, photographs and materials relating to the Cape Verdean American Citizen Club, which campaigned for immigration reform and created the Cape Verdean famine Relief Committee.
- 477 logbooks from whalers and merchant ships (currently a multi-year digitization project) representing the third-largest collection of its kind in the country. (The bulk of these are from the firm of J. & W. R. Wing, the largest whaling company in New Bedford in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century.)
- New Bedford Immigration Lists, Passengers from the Cape Verde islands, 1820-1899, a print index (1994) of approximately 2,500 passengers from Cape Verde in the 19th century.
- Cape Verde Beneficent Association Records (1920–1931)

- Index of Cape Verdeans (with an emphasis on New Bedford residents), who were immigrants from São Nicolau, São Vicente, Santo Antão and Boa Vista, containing genealogical and biographical information [digital files].
- Parish records from the Cape Verde Islands
- Index to the Seamen's Protection Papers
- Newspapers:
Cape Verdean (Lynn, MA, 1969–1988)
The CVN (Cape Verdean News, New Bedford, MA, 1979–1989)

For newspapers, see also the New Bedford local news index: [<https://www.newbedford-ma.gov/library/local-news-index/>]

Many items in the library's Special Collections Department's photograph collections have been digitized and mounted on the global website, **Digital Commonwealth** [<https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/institutions/commonwealth:8s45qj93w>].

See also the appendix of this report for the library's special collections resource guides covering general genealogical research; genealogical research specific to Portugal and Cape Verde; resources for whalships and whalemens; New Bedford newspapers (microfilm); immigration and passenger lists (microfilm); and New Bedford vital records (microfilm).

See also, the **Whaling History Website** [<https://whalinghistory.org/>].

New Bedford Historical Society

21 Seventh Street, New Bedford, MA 02740 (508) 979-8828
[\[http://www.nbhistoricalsociety.org\]](http://www.nbhistoricalsociety.org)

The NHBS is dedicated to researching and presenting the stories of Cape Verdeans, African-Americans, West Indians, American Indians and other people of color and their contributions to the history of New Bedford. In 1998 the society initiated the weeklong Cape Verdean Film Festival, the first event of its kind in the U.S. Another project, "The Faces of Whaling," was the first local exhibition mounted on whalemens of color. The society has also collaborated with the **New Bedford Whaling Museum** in a project to compile oral histories of surviving whalemens.

New Bedford Whaling Museum

18 Johnny Cake Hill, New Bedford, MA 508-997-0046
[\[https://www.whalingmuseum.org\]](https://www.whalingmuseum.org)

The whaling museum's permanent Cape Verdean Maritime Exhibit showcases artifacts, maps, photographs, logbooks, artwork and other materials documenting the cultural connection between the Cape Verde Islands and New England, notably through a long history of whaling and related maritime activity. The museum's special collections house the largest collection of American maritime logbooks and journals in the world, newspapers dating to the 18th century, and extensive local history reference collections. The digitized photo archive includes numerous images of Cape Verdean scenes and views of Cape Verdean whalers and packet ships.

[\[https://collections.whalingmuseum.org/RediscoveryProficioPublicSearch/ArchivesWordSearch.aspx?\]](https://collections.whalingmuseum.org/RediscoveryProficioPublicSearch/ArchivesWordSearch.aspx?)

Rhode Island Historical Society

10 Benevolent St, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 331-8575

[\[https://www.rihs.org\]](https://www.rihs.org)

The Fox Point neighborhood in East Providence has been a traditional enclave of Cape Verdean settlement. Among the RIHS archives are a number of filmed WJAR-TV and WSBE-TV segments about Cape Verdeans (1964–77) and the film *Along the Blackstone: Cape Verdean Voices* (1997). Collections also include passenger lists from the Port of Providence. The Rhode Island Congregational Christian Records contained here are noteworthy because one file concerns the Sheldon Street Congregational Church in Fox Point, which served a predominantly Cape Verdean population.

Rhode Island College

600 Mt. Pleasant Ave, Providence, RI 02908

James P. Adams Library, Special Collections (401) 456-9653

[\[https://library.ric.edu/specialcollections\]](https://library.ric.edu/specialcollections)

Rhode Island College's Cape Verdean Special Collection is the most extensive general collection of general information on Cape Verdeans in the United States. The library has made it a policy to collect all available books on Cape Verde, making its collection especially strong in history, government, economics, ethnicity, folklore, music, health, social issues and development of Cape Verdean-Americans. There are also significant holdings of Cape Verdean literature, including many Portuguese-language titles, as well as works by and about the anti-colonial leader Amílcar Lopes Cabral, and more than two-dozen student theses on subjects concerning Cape Verde and Cape Verdean Americans. The archives also hold sound recordings of traditional and popular music and Cape Verdean newspapers.

Special collections of note include:

- **Alberto Torres Peirera Collection**, including 28 recordings (available online) from the **Cape Verdean Oral History Project** [\[https://digitalcommons.ric.edu/verdean/index.2.html\]](https://digitalcommons.ric.edu/verdean/index.2.html) begun in 1972 under the auspices of the Rhode Island Department of State Library Services and conducted by Pereira, a Cape Verdean historian, linguist and writer. Interviewees include Cape Verdean and Cape Verdean-American workers, teachers, artists and public officials living in Rhode Island. Of note are recordings with two Cape Verdeans who, in their youth, worked on New England whaling ships.
- **David Baxter Papers**, including 35mm slides from photographs taken by Baxter of Cape Verde in the 1980s [\[https://digitalcommons.ric.edu/baxter_gallery/\]](https://digitalcommons.ric.edu/baxter_gallery/)
- **Manuel A. Lopes Collection**, including digitized postcards. [\[https://digitalcommons.ric.edu/cv_postcards/\]](https://digitalcommons.ric.edu/cv_postcards/)
- **Rhode Island Cape Verdean Collection**: Includes post cards, images of Cape Verde, a six-part documentary about local 1329, of the International Longshoremen's Association, the first predominantly Cape Verdean labor union.

Additional individual collections (Antonio de Jesus Cardozo; Eva Coombs; Virginia Neves Gonsalves; Joseph Livramento; Soares Family) include papers, pamphlets, research files,

photographs, clippings, ephemera and memorabilia related to the people, culture and history of Cape Verde and Cape Verdean Americans.

St. Anthony Chapel Foundation

Contact: Roberta J. Delgado Vincent (860-705-3176); Alfred H. Gonsalves (860-917-9586);
[<https://www.facebook.com/St-Anthony-Chapel-Norwich-CT-191013177650477/>]

The St. Anthony Chapel Foundation in Norwich, Connecticut, was founded in 2004 to perpetuate the understanding of Cape Verdean culture in Eastern Connecticut, and to preserve, promote and protect the St. Anthony Chapel building as a symbol of the arrival, establishment and settlement of Cape Verdeans in the City of Norwich through education and cultural awareness. The foundation maintains a collection of newspaper clippings, photographs and related materials documenting the history of Norwich's Cape Verdean community, as well as an archive of oral histories recorded in 2021.

UMass Dartmouth

85 Old Westport Road, Dartmouth, MA 02747
Claire T. Carney University Library, Special Collections (508) 999-8678
[<https://www.lib.umassd.edu/Archives>]

Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese-American Archives

Named for pioneer Portuguese-language radio and newspaper personality Affonso Gil Mendes Ferreira, the library's Special Collections house the largest collection in the U.S. of historical material documenting the experience of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants. Among the holdings are books, business records, correspondence, newspapers, genealogical records, photographs, recordings and scrapbooks documenting the collective experience of Cape Verdean immigration, settlement and life in the U.S. The archive also includes an almost-complete, digitized collection of the *Diário de Notícias*, a Portuguese-language daily newspaper published in New Bedford from 1919 to 1973 [<http://libraries.arcsearchdev.com/usmauma/>].

The **UMass Dartmouth Center for Portuguese Studies & Culture** is dedicated to the study of the cultures, languages and literature of the Portuguese-speaking world and sponsors events and activities.

[<https://www.umassd.edu/portuguese-studies-center/>]

Zion Union Heritage Museum

276 North Street, Hyannis, MA 02601 (508) 790-9466
[<http://www.zuhmi.org/>]

This small museum collects, preserves and shares the history and contributions of Cape Cod's population of color on Cape Cod, including Cape Verdeans and African Americans.

Clubs in Connecticut

Cape Verdean Women's Social Club of Bridgeport

783 Norman Street, Bridgeport

This club, founded in 1944, still meets monthly to plan events to benefit the Cape Verdean community and raise funds for their annual scholarship awards. Members offer informal lessons in Kriolu. The club has arranged exhibits at Sacred Heart University and the Bridgeport Public Library and participated in the International Festival sponsored by the International Institute of Bridgeport, CT.

Cape Verdean Social Club

1181 North Main Street, Waterbury, CT 06704

The club is a center for community gatherings, festivals, sports and Cape Verdean social life.

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Andrade, Elisa. *The Cape Verde Islands: From Slavery to Modern Times*. Eugene, OR: Third World Students Coalition Press, 1974.

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Baker, Jean E. "Cape Verdean-Americans: A Historical Perspective of Ethnicity and Race," *Trotter Review*, Vol. 10, Issue 1, 1996.

Busch, Briton Cooper. "Cape Verdeans in the American Whaling and Sealing Industry." *The American Neptune*, Vol. XLV, No. 2, 1986).

Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story. TCUBA (The American Committee for Cape Verde), n.d.

Carreira, António, ed. *The People of the Cape Verde Islands: Exploitation and Emigration*, trans. and ed. Christopher Fyfe. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982. The first scholarly English-language (translated from the Portuguese) history of the Cape Verde Islands concentrates primarily on the 20th century. The author argues that while many émigrés (usually men without families) left on their own volition, most did so because they were driven out by poverty and hunger.

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 "Cape Verdean Musical Traditions" (Margarida Barnabe Brito Martins)

 "Cape Verdean Pottery" (Leão Lopes)

 "Cape Verdeans in the Cranberry Bogs (Marilyn Halter)

 "Cape Verdean Kriolu in the United States" (Manuel Da Luz Gonçalves)

 "Nos Ku Nos: A Transnational Cape Verdean Community" (Raymond A. Almeida)

 "Learning from Cape Verdean Experience" (John W. Franklin and Peter Seitel)

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Cape Verdean Newspapers

Cape Verdean (monthly newspaper, Lynn, MA, 1973–1990)

Cape Verde News (monthly newspaper, New Bedford, MA) 1979–1990

Diário de Notícias (Portuguese-language daily newspaper) in New Bedford from 1919 to 1973

Cape Verdean Military Veterans From Norwich

Cape Verdeans have a proud history of service in the U.S. military since World War I. Every effort has been made to include a complete accounting of those individuals serving from Norwich below.

Veteran	Branch	Veteran	Branch	Veteran	Branch
ALMEIDA, EDWARD G.	USA	GOMES, GEORGE SR.	USA	PINA, JOAQUIN GOMES	USN
ALVES, ANTHONY	USA	GOMES, GEORGE JR.	USAF/USA	RAMOS, CHRISTOPHER	USA
ALVES, ROBERT	USA	GOMES, GEORGE III	USAF	RAMOS, DONALD	USAF
ALVIS, JOSEPH	USA	GOMEZ, GEORGE SR.	USA	RANSOM, WAYNE JR.	USA
ANDERSEN (GOMES), CHELSEA	USAF	GOMEZ, GEORGE JR.	USAF	ROBINSON, NATHANIEL	USA
ANDRADE, DULCE	USN	GOMEZ, MICHAEL	USA	RODERICK, FRANCIS E.	USA
ANDRADE, PETER	USN	GONSALVES, ALFRED H.	USA	RODRIGUES, BELMIRO	USN
ANDREWS, RONALD	USAF	GONSALVES, CHARLIE	USA	RODRIGUES, EDWARD	USA
BARBOZA, ALFRED	USAF	GONSALVES, DAVID SR.	USA	RODRIGUES, HENRY	USN
BARBOZA, ANTONIO	USA	GONSALVES, DAVID JR.	USA	RODRIGUES, JOHN	USA
BARBOZA, BENJAMIN J.	USA	GONSALVES, FRANK C.	USN	RODRIGUES, JOSEPH	USAF
BARBOZA, ROY	USA	GONSALVES, JOHN	USA	RODRIGUES-MARCINIAK, LINDA	USA
BOROWSKI, CHRISTOPHER	USA	GONSALVES, JOHN B.	USA	RODRIGUES, MANUEL	USN
BRAXTON-GAMBRELL, VALERIE	USA	GONSALVES, ROBERT (LW)	USA	RODRIGUES, RICARDO	USA
BREWER, GERALDINE	USA	GOODEN (BARBOZA), TRUDI	USA	ROSE, DANIEL SR.	USN
CARDOZA, AMURO	USAF	HAILEY, JAESONE	USN	SANTOS, ABEL	USN
CARDOZA, LEO	USN	HOWARD, ROBERT III	USAF	SANTOS, ADRIAN O.	USMC
CARDOZA, MANUEL JR.	USA	JENKINS, DANIEL JR.	USMC	SANTOS, DOMINGO M.	USN
CARDOZA, ROBERT	USN	JENKINS, PHILIP	USN	SANTOS, EDDIE	USA
DEBARROS, FELIX SR.	USA	KENNEDY, DEJON	USN	SANTOS, JOSÉ Sr.	USN/USA
DEBARROS, FELIX JR.	USA	KENNEDY, LAMAR	USN	SANTOS, JULIO M.	USAF
DEBARROS, GILBERT	USAF	KOSTENBADER, GABRIELLE	USN	SANTOS, MATTHEW	USAF
DEBARROS, JOSEPH	USA	LIVRAMENTO, ARTHUR	USAF	SILVA, GEORGE	USA
DELGADO, ANTHONY JR.	NCF	LOTT (DEPINA), KIM	USN	SILVA, MANUEL SR.	USA
DELGADO, CANDIDO	USN	MARCELINE, PHILIP	USN	SILVA, MANUEL JR.	USA
DELGADO, FRANK	USA	MOORE, DAVID	USAF	SILVA, RAYMOND	USAF
DELGADO, JOSEPH	USA	NORDE, PHILIP	USA	SILVA, RICHARD	USA
DEMARCO, CLARENCE	USA	OWENS (BARBOZA) TONI	USAF	THRALL (DOZIER), STACY	USA
DEPINA, EDWARD (PETE)	USA	PENA, SALUMA	USA	VAZ, CARLOS	USA
DEPINA, GEORGE	USA	PENHA, EVERETT	USN	VINCENT, AARON	USA
DEPINA, JAMES JR.	USA	PENHA, JOHN	USN	VINCENT, BENJAMIN SR.	USN
DEPINA, JOSEPH	USA	PERRY, ABEL SR.	USAF	VINCENT, BENJAMIN JR.	USN
DEPINA, MANUEL (NED)	USA	PERRY, ABEL JR.	USMC	VINCENT, EDWARD	USN
DEPINA, MANUEL (SARGE)	USA	PERRY, FRANK SR.	USA	VINCENT, JOHN	USA
DOZIER, BROCK	USN	PERRY, FRANK JR.	USMC		
GOMES, ANTHONY	USAF	PERRY, JOSEPH A.	USA		
GOMES, DOMINGOS R.	USA	PERRY, MARVIN	USAF		

SERVICE BRANCHES:

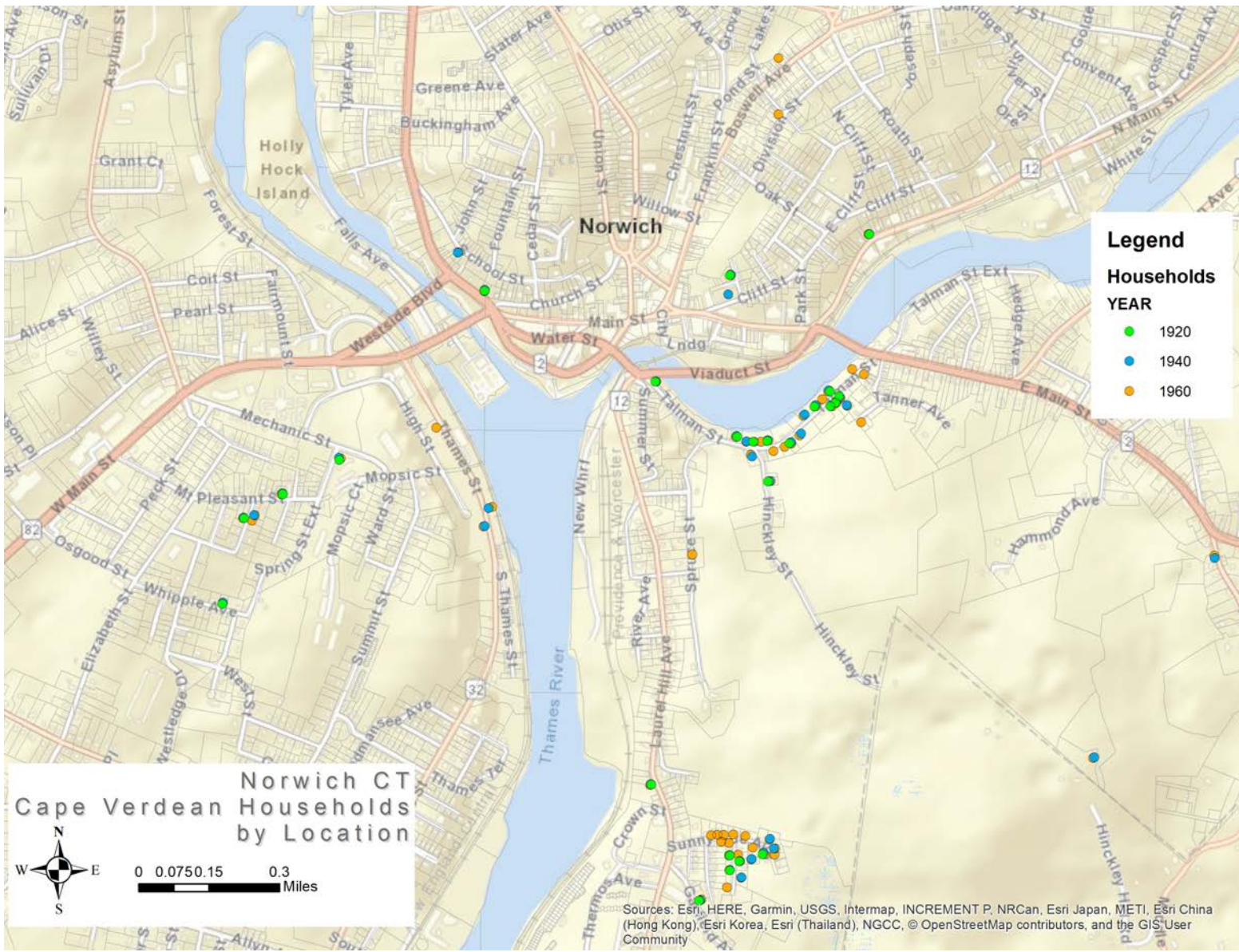
USAF = U.S. Air Force; USA = U.S. Army; USMC = U.S. Marine Corps; USN = U.S. Navy; NCF = Naval Construction Force (Navy Seabees)

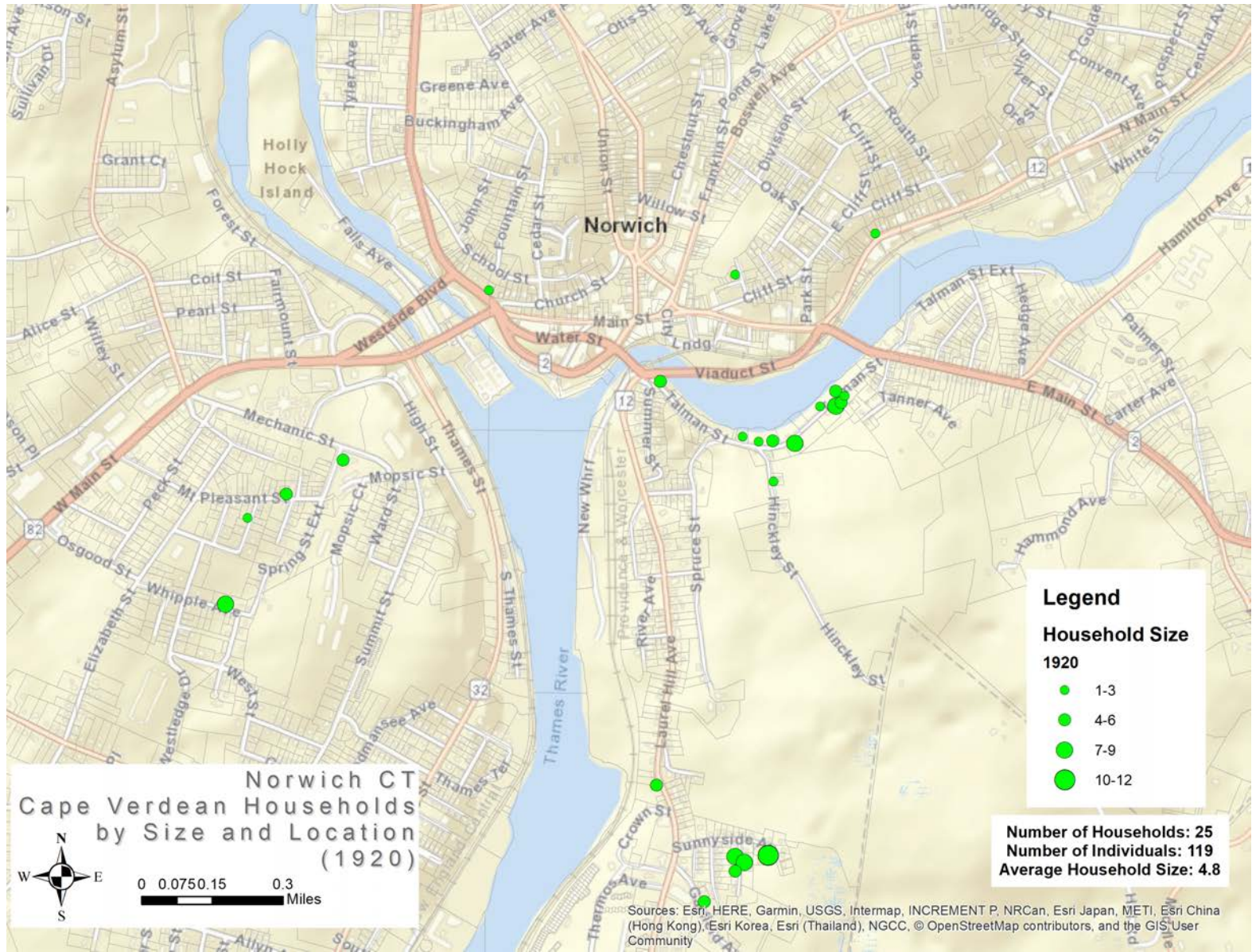
Mapping Norwich's Cape Verdean Community: Methodology

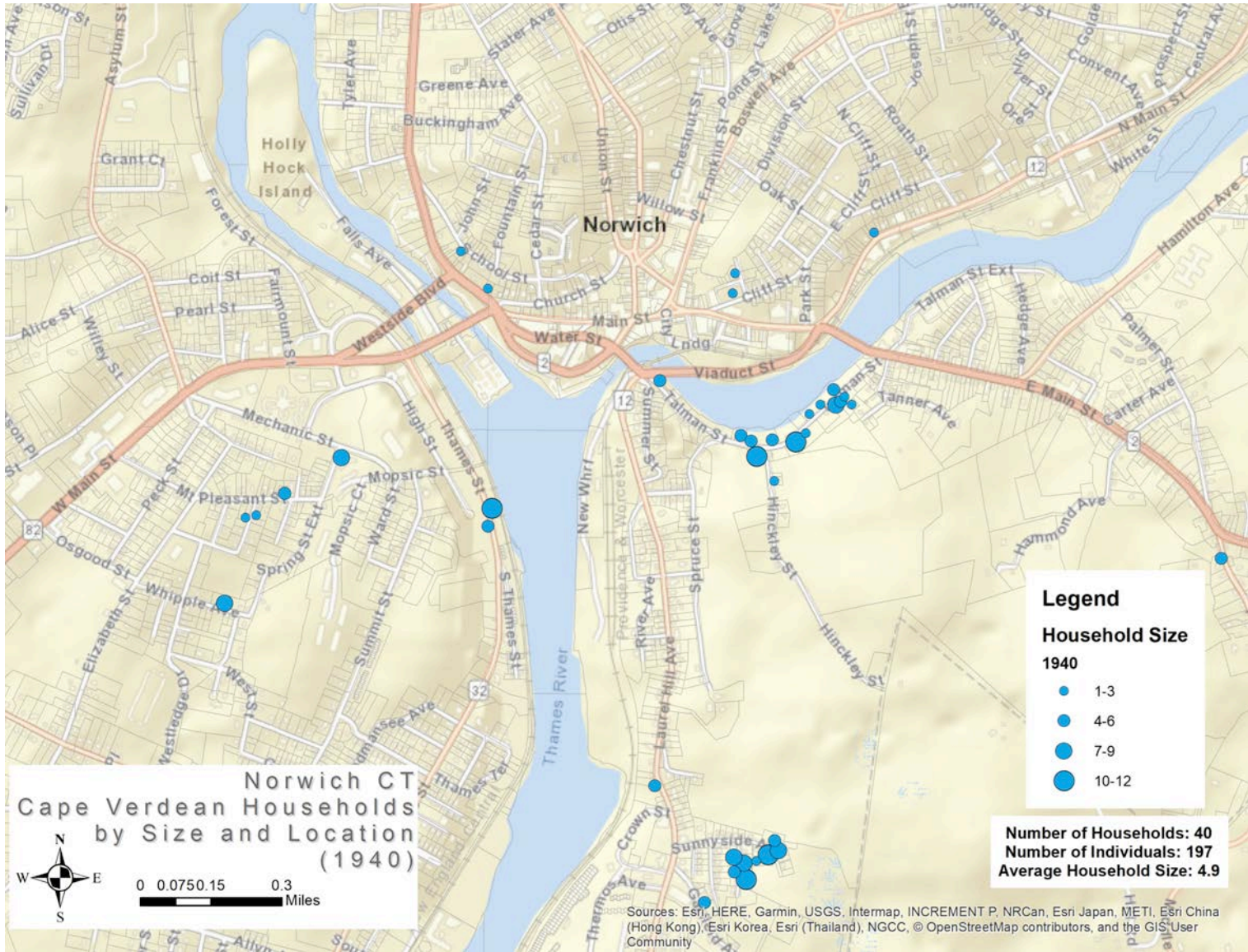
The GIS map series included on the following pages records places that provide insight into the history of the Cape Verdean community in Norwich. Seven map layers reflect data compiled from census records, street directories and from information supplied by individuals who were interviewed for this project. To make the map layers, tables of data for each of three decades—1920, 1940 and 1960—were assembled (see pages 43–67) with the goal of tracking each street recorded in 1920 through the subsequent decades, while tracking additional addresses that appeared in 1940. Data was transferred to a base map to show the progression of settlement through the city on a single overview layer (Cape Verdean Households by Location). Each of the three decades is depicted on a separate map by decade (Cape Verdean Households by Size and Location). A detail layer for each of the two primary neighborhoods of concentration, Talman Street and Sunnyside Avenue, is also included for 1920–1940–1960. A final map provides an overview of locations (Places of Interest) that hold key associations for Cape Verdeans in Norwich, including the schools and churches they attended, places of work, shops frequented and locations like clubs and movie houses where Cape Verdeans typically socialized.

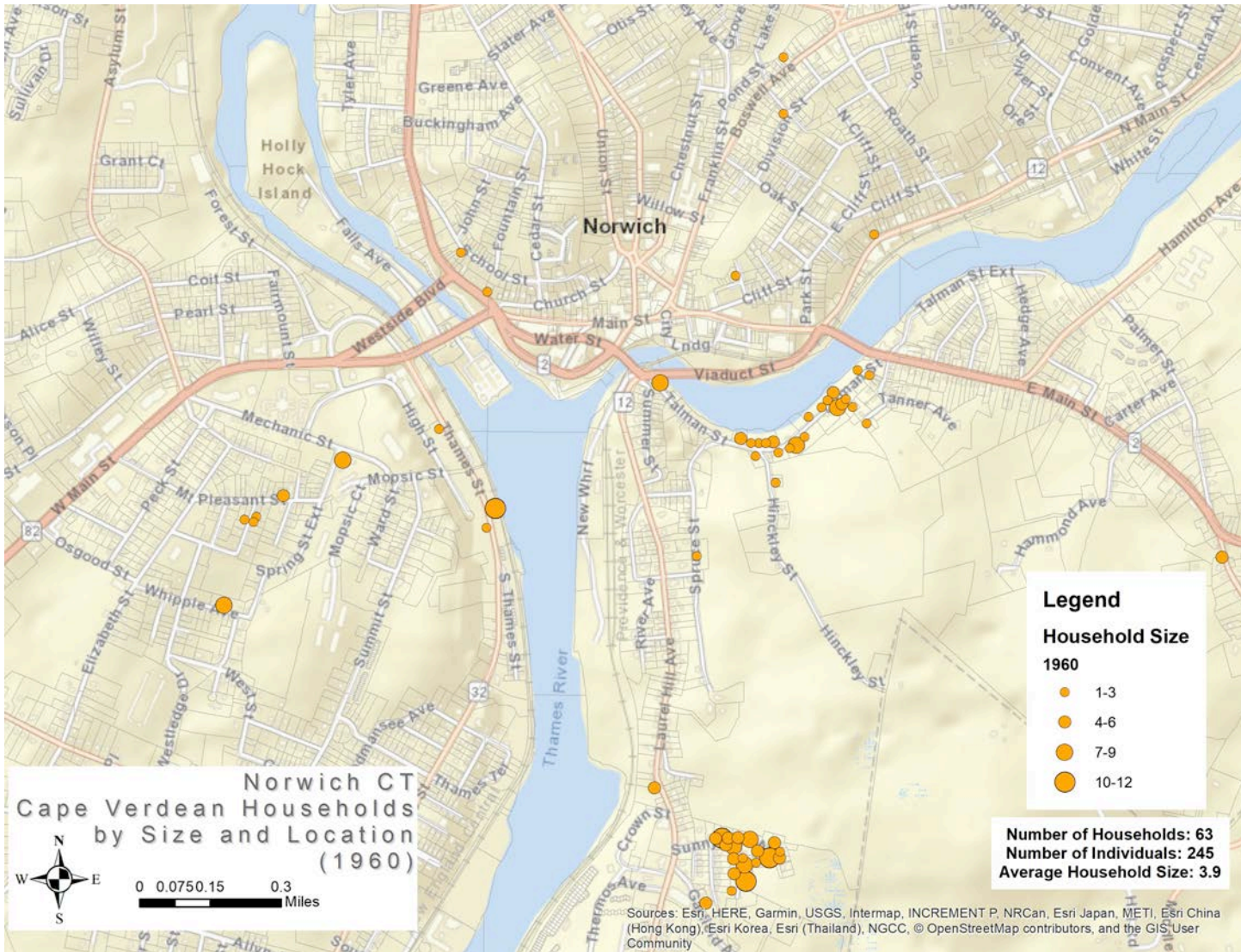
It is important to note that accounting for Cape Verdean population numbers will never be an exact science owing to a long pattern of imprecise record keeping. U.S. federal census records did not begin designating Cape Verde as a place of native origin separate from Portugal until 1920, and even after that year, the practice continued, albeit haphazardly. According to 1920 records there were fifty-six Cape Verdean heads of household in Norwich. The 1940 census cited only eleven Cape Verdean heads of household. Upon closer inspection, it became clear that many families had in fact been classified as Portuguese, but with no apparent rule of thumb. It was thus necessary to build an address list for 1940 based partly on street directories. The tables on pages 43–67 indicate household size and location as provided in census records. Additional information (not mapped) included whether an individual was the head of household and information concerning citizenship status, literacy and whether property at the address of residency was owned or rented. Occasionally, it was noted if an individual boarded. This data was not available consistently in census records, but it is provided in the tables any time it was available. Because 1960 census data is not public record, less information is included in the data table for that decade. The 1960 table was based primarily on street directories and information provided by members of the community.

Throughout this process, other vagaries and anomalies surfaced. The spelling of family names varies greatly according to census taker, and some addresses as originally recorded have vanished. A street named Edwards Place, for example, once ran parallel to Talman Street, apparently leading to an isolated property located near its east end. Due to the confines of the GIS maps, some of the places of interest (places of work outside the city, for example) could not be included, because they fell outside their borders. Overall, these map layers make it possible to see the growth of the Cape Verdean population, which roughly doubled between 1920 and 1960, and its increasing focus on Talman Street and Sunnyside Avenue. It is also possible to recognize a pattern of growth that ultimately encompasses a higher number of households, but a decline in average household size (as of 1960). That pattern is likely reflective of a general trend away from multi-generational households, but also of the way upward mobility was taking people out of their old neighborhoods to new places.



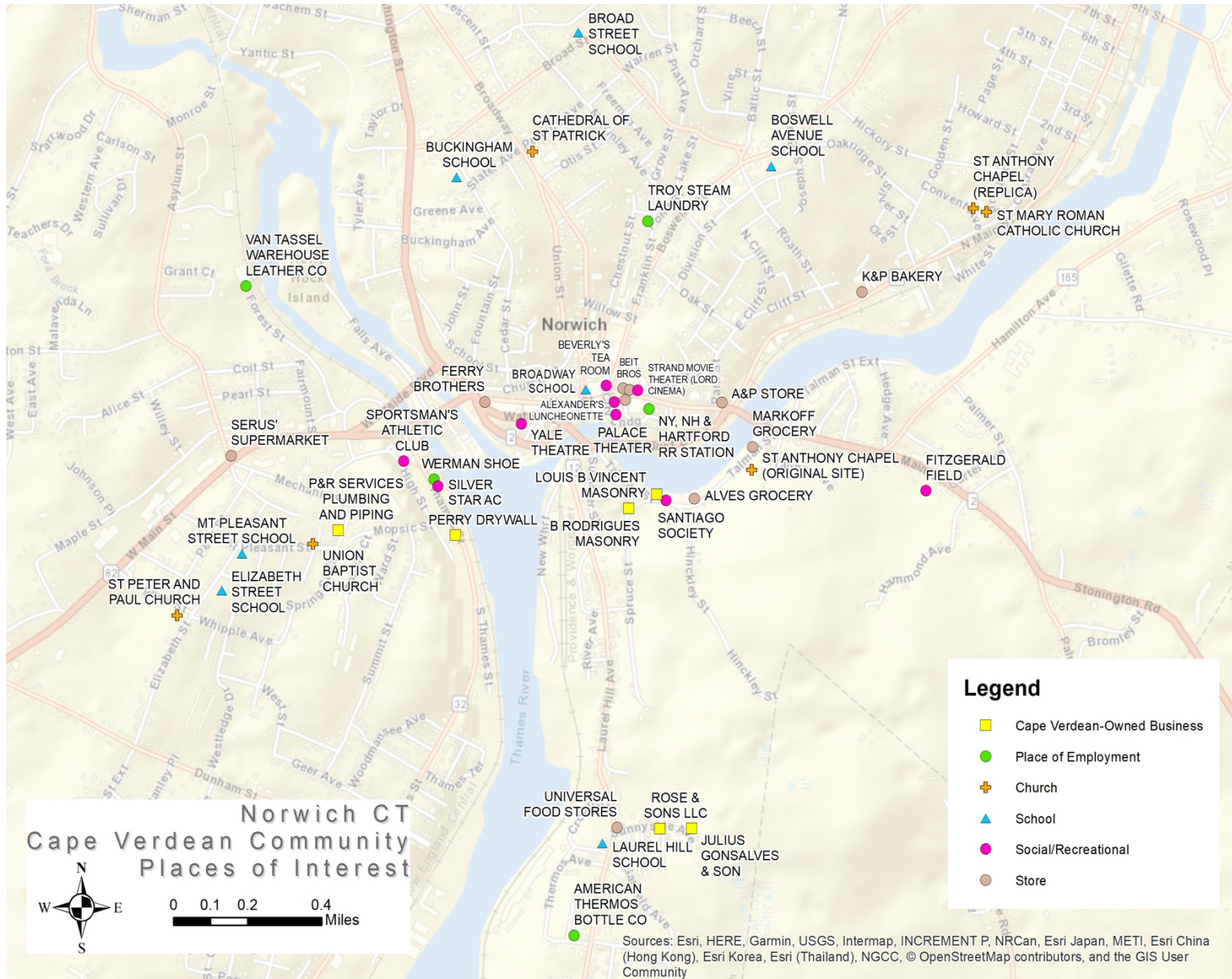












Cape Verdean Population in Norwich, Data by Street, 1920

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
CANTERBURY TPK	111	1	Y	Rodrigues	Frank	36	Farm Worker	Farm	Yes	Papers	Boarder in household of 7 (Beche)
CLAY AVE	9	8	Y	Purvis	David	49	Mason		Yes	Naturalized	Own
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Grace (Scottish)	46			Yes		
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Estella	24			Yes		
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Leonard	22			Yes		
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Hazel	19	Nurse	Hospital	Yes		
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Edith	15			Yes		
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Grace	12			Yes		
CLAY AVE	9			Purvis	Ruth	7	Fireman-gas house		Yes		
CLAY AVE	16	8	Y	Williams	Frank	50			No	Alien	Own
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Mary	45			No	Alien	
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Louise	21	Packing	Bottle Co.	Read and Write		
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Joseph	20	Laborer	Electric Co.	Read and Write		

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Fidel	19	Laborer	.	Read and Write		
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Lottie	14			Read and Write		
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Cannada	15			Read and Write		
CLAY AVE	16			Mongala	Rosie	79			No	Alien	
CLAY AVE	19	6	Y	Soures (Souares)	Antoine	55	Freight House	RR	Yes	Papers	Own
CLAY AVE	19			Soures	Mari L.	58			Yes	Alien	
CLAY AVE	19			Perry	Joseph	30	Shipping	Bottle Shop	Yes		
CLAY AVE	19			Perry	Ella	24			Yes		
CLAY AVE	19			Rozario	Julius A.	48	Bldg Contr		Yes	Papers	
EDWARDS PL	22	3	Y	Gransalve	Aveline	62	Laborer	Coal Yard	No	Alien	Rent
EDWARDS PL	22			Gransaleve	Isabel	61			Yes	Alien	
EDWARDS PL	22			Gransalve	Margaret	20	Bobbin Tender	Cotton Mill	Yes		
ELM ST	22	2	Y	Barrows	Epolda	34	Laborer	Coal Yard	Yes	Alien	Rent
ELM ST	22			Barrows	Antonio	42	Laborer	Coal Yard	Yes		

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
GARFIELD AVE	18	5	Y	Massaline (Marceline)	Moses	28	Coal Passer	Electric Power Co.	No	Alien	Own
GARFIELD AVE	18			Massaline	Cenarina	26			No	Alien	
GARFIELD AVE	18			Massaline	James	4					
GARFIELD AVE	18			Massaline	Rosie	1					
GARFIELD AVE	18			Petrs (Peters)	May	22			No	Alien	
HINCKLEY ST	26	3	Y	Anderson	Manuel J.	59	Laborer	Street Work	Yes	Alien	Rent
HINCKLEY ST	26			Anderson	Gertrude	30			Yes	Alien	
HINCKLEY ST	26			Anderson	Alice	12			Yes		
LAUREL HILL AVE	285			Hope	Mary	50			No	Alien	Rent
LAUREL HILL AVE	285	6	Y	Hope	Joseph	68	Wood Chopper		No	Alien	
LAUREL HILL AVE	285			DePena	Antone	23	Laborer	Woolen Mill	Yes		
LAUREL HILL AVE	285			DePena	Joseph	33	Coal Spooler	Coal Yard	Yes	Alien	
LAUREL HILL AVE	285			Hope	Flora	15	Assembly	Bottle Co.			
LAUREL HILL AVE	285			Hope	Julia	15	Assembly	Bottle Co.			
MT PLEASANT ST	131	5	Y	Vera	Augustus	42	Cupola tender	Stove foundry	Yes	Alien	Own

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Charlotte W.	38					
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Earle	13					
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Francis	1					
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Justine	0					
NORTH MAIN ST	68			Alves	John	35	Merchant	Grocery	Yes	Alien	Rent
NORTH MAIN ST	TBD			Delgado	Lawrence	47	Laborer	State Hosp.	Yes		Rent
QUARRY ST	5	2	Y	Gocelves (Gonslaves)	Sazerins	52	Coal Shoveler	On Boat	Yes	Alien	Own
QUARRY ST	5			Gocelves	Julia	16	Weaver	Woolen Mill	Yes		
SPRING ST	50	6	Y	DeBarros	Felix	24	Machine Operator	Cotton Mill	Yes		Rent
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Carie	29			Yes		
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Frederick	5					
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Joseph	2					
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Ela	24	Doffer	Cotton Mill			
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Florence	0					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61	11	Y	Antone	John	55	Ice Dealer		No	Alien	Rent
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Antone	Jennie	26			No	Alien	

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Antone	Charles	1					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Antone	John	0					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Pare	Mary	29	Domestic Work		No	Alien	
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Pare	Ledia	3					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Pare	Frank	2					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Rabare	Mary	28	Packing	Bottle Shop	No	Alien	
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Rabare	Charles	1					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Rabare	May	3					
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Rabare	Habell	1					
TALMAN ST	10	6	Y	Barber	Lewis	36	Laborer	Stationary Store	Yes	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	10			Barber	Anna	23			Yes	Alien	
TALMAN ST	10			Barber	Walter	4					
TALMAN ST	10			Barber	Isabel	3					
TALMAN ST	10			Barber	Louis A.	1					
TALMAN ST	10			Barber	Dorothy	0					
TALMAN ST	84	2	Y	Faial	William	30	Laborer		Yes	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	84			Faial	Rose	40	None		No	Alien	
TALMAN ST	94	3	Y	Rose	Henry	29	Fireman	Round House	Yes	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	94			Rose	Fortunato	61	Laborer		Yes	Alien	

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	94			Rose	Gertrude	26			Yes		
TALMAN ST	102		Y	Perry	Charles	35	Core Maker	Iron Foundry	Yes	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	102		Y	De Barros	Peter	60	Laborer		No	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	102		Y	Vena	Manuel	33	Laborer		Yes	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	102		Y	Vincente	Louis	23	Laborer		Yes	Naturalized	Rent
TALMAN ST	123	8	Y	Santo(s)	Albert	38	Hospital Laborer		No	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	123			Santo	Amelia	35			No	Alien	
TALMAN ST	123			Santo	James	13					
TALMAN ST	123			Santo	Mary	13					
TALMAN ST	123			Santo	Amelia?						
TALMAN ST	123	1	Y	Delgado	Frank	35	Street Work		Yes	Alien	
TALMAN ST	123	1	Y	Sounes	Joseph	50					
TALMAN ST	125	2	Y	Santos	Antonio	43	Skein Winder	Woolen Mill	No	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	125			Santos	Mary D.	17	Spooler	Woolen Mill	Yes	Alien	
TALMAN ST	157	7	Y	Mattas	Ben	38	Watchman	Dry Goods	Yes	Papers	Rent
TALMAN ST	157			Mattas	Ethel (born NH)	30			Yes	Alien	
TALMAN ST	157			Mattas	Josephine	8					
TALMAN ST	157			Mattas	Benjamin	5					

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	157			Mattas	Eleanor	4					
TALMAN ST	157			Mattas	Dorothy	2					
TALMAN ST	157			Mattas	Madeline	0					
TALMAN ST	160	1	Y	Almede (Almeida)	Frank	51	Coal Shoveler	Coal Yard	Yes	Alien	Boarder
TALMAN ST	163	4	Y	Alves	Joseph	36	Track Walker	Railroad	Yes	Natural	
TALMAN ST	163			Alves	Mary	30			No	Naturalized	
TALMAN ST	163			Alves	Anna	10					
TALMAN ST	163			Alves	Frank	9					
TALMAN ST	164	5		Pena	Samuel	31	-Concrete		Yes	Naturalized	Rent
TALMAN ST	164			Pena	Philip	48	Laborer- Concrete		No	Alien	
TALMAN ST	164			Alv(es)	Frank	31	Laborer- Concrete		Yes	Alien	Boarder
TALMAN ST	164			Gomes	Joseph	33	Shoveler		Yes	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	164			Alvara	Katarn	38	Shoveler		Yes	Alien	
TALMAN ST	165	2		DeBanos	Antonio	46	Laborer	Railroad	Yes	Naturalized	Rent
TALMAN ST	165	1		DePina	John	35	Laborer	Railroad	Yes	Alien	Boarding with Falcons
WASHINGTON ST	9	3	Y	Barber	John	49	Janitor	Public Bldg	Yes	Alien	Rent
WASHINGTON ST	9			Barber	Anne	38			Yes	Alien	

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1920	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
WASHINGTON ST	9			Barber	John S.	13					
WHIPPLE AVE	172	8	Y	Santos	Immanuel	45	Coal Laborer		Yes	Alien	Rent
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Mary L.F.	46			Yes	Alien	
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Leslie	14					
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Elizabeth	12					
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Thinette	10					
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Immanuel L	7					
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Francis A	5					
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Christian	2					

Cape Verdean Population in Norwich Data, by Street, 1940

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
CANTERBURY TPK	111										
CLAY AVE	9										
CLAY AVE	16	5	Y	Williams	Mary	74			No		Own
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Joseph	41	Laborer		5th grade		
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Canada	36	Laborer			Yes	
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Charlotte	35			6th grade		
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Catherine	4					
CLAY AVE	19										
CLAY AVE	19										
CLAY AVE	19										
CLAY AVE	22	12	Y	Santos	Manuel	43	Laborer		No	Citizen	Rent
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Helen	32			No	Alien	
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Edwin	15			5th grd		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Joseph	14			5th grd		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Anthony	12			3rd grd		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Domingo	11			3rd grd		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Abul	10			2nd grd		

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Matthew	9			2nd grd		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Liliana	6			yes		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Julio	4			no		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Marcelino	5			no		
CLAY AVE	22			Santos	Elizabeth	11			no		
CLIFF ST	24	2	Y	Alves	Frank	50	Laborer		no		Rent
CLIFF ST	24			Alves	Willamine	47			4th grd	Naturalized	
EDWARDS PL	22										
ELM ST	22										
GARFIELD AVE	18										
HINCKLEY HILL RD	2	3	Y	Brandoas	John	45	Laborer		No		Rent
HINCKLEY HILL RD	2			Brandoas	Manuel	23	Laborer		No		
HINCKLEY HILL RD	2			Plaent	Helma	57			No		
HINCKLEY HILL RD	92			Gonsalve	Charles						In directory/not in census

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
HINCKLEY HILL RD	92			Gonsalve	Mary						In directory/not in census
HINCKLEY HILL RD	92			Gonsalve	David						In directory/not in census
HINCKLEY ST	26										
LAUREL HILL AVE	285										
MT PLEASANT ST	131	4	Y	Vera	Augustus	62	Mason		6th grd	Naturalized	Own
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Grace	59	Housework		6th grd		
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Frances	22	Hospital		High School		
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Justine	20	Hospital Laundry				
NORTH MAIN ST	68										
PALMER EXT	RFD 6	4	Y	Pina	James	28	Laborer		8th grd	Naturalized	Rent
PALMER EXT	RFD 6			Pina	Ida	20			8th grd	Citizen	
PALMER EXT	RFD 6			Pina	Francis	3				Citizen	

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
PALMER EXT	RFD 6			Pina	James	1				Citizen	
QUARRY ST	5										
QUARRY ST	8	2	Y	Gonsalves	Severino	73			8th grd	Naturalized	Own
SCHOOL ST	59	2	Y	Delgado	Antonio	23	Presser		High Sch		Rent
SCHOOL ST	59			Delgado	Mary	18			High Sch		
SPRING ST	50	9		Debarros	Joseph	23	Laborer		High sch		
SPRING ST	50		Y	Debarros	Felix	45	Laborer		8th grd		Rent
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Carrie	49			8th grd		
SPRING ST	50			Debarros	Fred	26			High sch		
SPRING ST	50			DeBarros	Gladys	20	Maid		High sch		
SPRING ST	50			Debarros	Clara	17			High sch		
SPRING ST	50			Debarros	Mary	15			7th grd		
SPRING ST	50			Debarros	Felix	12			7th grd		
SPRING ST	50			Debarros	Virgiina	10			4th grd		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	53			Vincent	Anibel						In directory/ not in census
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56	4	Y	Gonsalves	Julius	30	Mason		3rd grd	Citizen	Own
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Lydia	23			6th grd	Citizen	

	Street	Household	Head of		First	Age		Employment	Literacy/	Citizen	
STREET	Number	Size	House	Surname	Name	1940	Employment	Location	School	Status	Property Status
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Joachin	20	Mason		2nd grd	Naturalized	
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Perry	Arthur	3					Arthur Perry listed as state ward
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58	8	Y	Gomes	Frank	49	Laborer		6th grd		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Gomes	Mary	48			6th grd		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Perry	Abel	22	Laborer		High School		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Perry	Frank	23			High School		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Gomes	George	18	Laborer		High School		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Gomes	Evangeline	16			8th grd		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Gomes	Ruth	14			7th grd		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Gomes	Frances	11			5th grd		

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61			Gonsalves	Sarah	75			8th grd		
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61										
TALMAN ST	10										
TALMAN ST	84			Vincent	Louis	42	Mason		No	Naturalized	Rent
TALMAN ST	84			Vincent	Anna	14			5th grd	Citizen	
TALMAN ST	84			Vincent	Virginia	13			9th grd	Citizen	
TALMAN ST	84			Vincent	Julia	12			6th grd	Citizen	
TALMAN ST	84			Barbiera	Joseph						In directory/not in census
TALMAN ST	92	4		Conceison	John	50	Laborer		8th grd	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	92			Conceison	Eugenia	50			8th grd	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	93	10	Y	Cardoza	Manuel	50	Laborer		No	Papers	Own
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Senherena	40			No	Alien	
TALMAN ST	93			Martins	James	24	Truck Driver		8th grd		
TALMAN ST	93			Martins	Mildred	19			High Sch/ English		
TALMAN ST	93			Martins	Phillp	16			High School		

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Robert	13			6th grd		
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Leo	12			6th grd		
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Manuel Jr	10			5th grd		
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Amaro	9			2nd grd		
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Mary	7			2nd grd		
TALMAN ST	93			Barboza	John						In directory/ not in census
TALMAN ST	102			Lane (Sena)	Dominic	62	Laborer		No	Alien	Roomer
TALMAN ST	102			Drapina	Manuel	46	Laborer		No	Papers	Rent
TALMAN ST	102			Pina	Joseph	64	Laborer		No	Alien	Roomer
TALMAN ST	102			Alves	C						In directory/ not in census
TALMAN ST	102			Gomes	Fidel	64	Laborer		No	Alien	Roomer
TALMAN ST	102		Y	DePina	Manuel	46	Laborer		No	Papers	Rent
TALMAN ST	123	8		Jones	Emelia Santos	50			No	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	123			Jones	Albert	50	Laborer		No	Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	123			Jones	Evelyn	21	Hairdresser		8th grd	Citizen	
TALMAN ST	123			Jones	James	24	Helper		8th grd	Citizen	

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	123			Gomes	Gertrude	67				Alien	Rent
TALMAN ST	123			Gomes	Alfred	60					Listed but crossed out
TALMAN ST	123			Gomes	Roy	5				Citizen	
TALMAN ST	123			Gomes	Marie	25	Hairdresser		8th grd	Citizen	
TALMAN ST	123			Rose	Isadore						
TALMAN ST	123			Santos	Albert						In directory/ not in census
TALMAN ST	125			Faial	Rosa	68			No	Alien	Roomer
TALMAN ST	125			Soures (Souares)	Joseph	63			No	Alien	Roomer
TALMAN ST	125			Soures	Mary	52	Housework		No	Alien	
TALMAN ST	156			Santiago	Antonio	45	Helper		8th grd	First Papers	Rent
TALMAN ST	157										
TALMAN ST	160										
TALMAN ST	163										
TALMAN ST	164										
TALMAN ST	165										

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1940	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy/School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	165 Rear		Y	Delgado	Joseph C.						In directory/ not in census; chapel at this address
THAMES ST	116	10	Y	Rodrigues	Mary	45			8th grd	Naturalized	Rent
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Manuel	10			2nd grd		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Henry	22	Raft Worker		4th grd		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	John	20	Metal Worker		High Sch		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Joseph	17			8th grd		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Edward	15			8th grd		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Mary	13			3rd grd		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Belmiro	1					
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Laura	9			3rd grd		
THAMES ST	116	10		Rodrigues	Manuel	10			2nd grd		
THAMES ST	123	4	Y	Santos	Francis	25			7th grd		
THAMES ST	123	4		Santos	Barbara	22			7th grd		
THAMES ST	123	4		Santos	Edwin	1					
THAMES ST	123	4		Santos	Frances	3					
WASHINGTON ST	9										
WHIPPLE AVE	172										

Cape Verdean Population in Norwich, Data by Street, 1960

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
BOSWELL AVE	76			Delgado	Anthony J.						
CANTERBURY TPK	111										
CLAY AVE	9	6	Y	Perry Sr.	Frank						
CLAY AVE	9			Perry	Delia						
CLAY AVE	9			Perry	Virginia						
CLAY AVE	9			Perry	Robert						
CLAY AVE	9			Perry	Michael						
CLAY AVE	9			Perry	Frank Jr.						
CLAY AVE	10		Y	Vincent	Anibel						
CLAY AVE	16		Y	Williams	Mrs. CR						
CLAY AVE	16	8		Williams	Joe						
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Lottie						
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Canada						
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Catherine						
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Diane						
CLAY AVE	16			Williams	Kathie						
CLAY AVE	16			Vincent	Benjamin						
CLAY AVE	19	3	Y	Perry	Joseph						

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
CLAY AVE	19			Perry	Mrs. Joseph						
CLAY AVE	19			Perry	Marvin						
CLAY AVE	22										
CLAY AVE	23	3	Y	Andrews	John						
CLAY AVE	23			Andrews	Alzeda						
CLAY AVE	23			Andrews	Dutch						
DIVISION ST	48			Gonsalves	Nicholas						
EDWARDS AVE near Hinckley				Rodrigues	William M						
EDWARDS PL	22										
ELM ST	22										
GARFIELD AVE	18										
HINCKLEY HILL RD	2										
HINCKLEY HILL RD	92										
HINCKLEY ST	26										
LAUREL HILL AVE	285										
MT PLEASANT ST	131			Vera	Augustus						
MT PLEASANT ST	131										
NORTH MAIN ST	68										

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
PALMER EXT	RFD 6										
QUARRY ST	5										
QUARRY ST	8										
QUARRY ST	12			Silva	Manuel						
SCHOOL ST	59										
SPRING ST	50										
SPRUCE ST	90			Gonsalves	Antonio						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	28	4	Y	Santos	Abel						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	28			Santos	Jenny						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30	10	Y	Santos	Matthew						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Maria						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Palmira						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Manuel						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	James						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Adeline						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Elizabeth						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Angelina						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Marcy						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	30			Santos	Savannah						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	33	6	Y	Gomes	George						

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
SUNNYSIDE AVE	33			Gomes	Irene						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	33			Gomes	Joyce						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	33			Gomes	Barbara						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	33			Gomes	Renie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	33			Gomes	George JR.						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	34	4	Y	Silva	Manuel						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	34			Silva	Dennis						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	34			Silva	Robbie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37	9	Y	Rose	Daniel Sr.						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Lena						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Daniel Jr.						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Andrew						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Liz						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Dawn						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Michael						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose	Kevin						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	37			Rose							
SUNNYSIDE AVE	42	4	Y	Lopes	Edward						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	42			Lopes	Frances						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50	9	Y	Santos	Manuel						

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Adeline						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Eddie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Abel						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Julio						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Lena						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Priscilla						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Jose						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Charlie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	50			Santos	Charlie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	53			Vincent	Benjamin						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56	6	Y	Gonsalves	Julius						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Lydia						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Alfred						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Judy						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Elaine						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	56			Gonsalves	Jean						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	57	6		Gomez	George						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	57			Gomez	Angelina						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	57			Gomez	George Jr.						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	57			Gomez	Joyce Ann						

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
SUNNYSIDE AVE	57			Gomez	Jackie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58		7	Gomes	Frank						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Rodrigues	John						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Rodrigues	Eva						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Rodrigues	Ricardo						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Rodrigues	Maria						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Rodrigues	Evie						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	58			Rodrigues	Linda						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	60	4	Y	Perry	Abel Sr.						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	60			Perry	Adeline						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	60			Perry	Tina						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	60			Perry	Abel Jr						
SUNNYSIDE AVE	61										
TALMAN ST	10										
TALMAN ST	61										
TALMAN ST	84			Rebeiro	Joseph J.						
TALMAN ST	84			Vincent	Louis B.						
TALMAN ST	84			Santiago Society							
TALMAN ST	92			Conceison	Mrs. E.G						

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	93			Cardoza	Manuel						
TALMAN ST	94										
TALMAN ST	98			DePina	Manuel						
TALMAN ST	102			Barros	Charles E.						
TALMAN ST	102			Oliveina	Jose D.						
TALMAN ST	102			Roderick	Mrs. E.I.						
TALMAN ST	102			Brandao	Manuel						
TALMAN ST	102			Rodrigues	Julius						
TALMAN ST	111			Gonsalves	John						
TALMAN ST	117			Rodrigues	Manuel D.						
TALMAN ST	123			Barboza	Anthony						
TALMAN ST	125										
TALMAN ST	156			DeMarco	Clarence						
TALMAN ST	156			Santiago	A.G.						
TALMAN ST	157										
TALMAN ST	160										
TALMAN ST	162			Alves	Francisco						
TALMAN ST	163			Vincent	Manuel						
TALMAN ST	164										
TALMAN ST	165			Rodrigues	Maria						

STREET	Street Number	Household Size	Head of House	Surname	First Name	Age 1960	Employment	Employment Location	Literacy / School	Citizen Status	Property Status
TALMAN ST	165 Rear			Delgado	Joseph C.						
TALMAN ST	187			Delgado	Joseph A.						
TALMAN ST	190			Rodrigues	Edward						
THAMES ST	37			Alves	Florence						
THAMES ST	116										
THAMES ST	123										
WASHINGTON ST	9										
WHIPPLE AVE	9										
WHIPPLE AVE	172			Santos	Manuel						
YORK AVE	24			Rodrigues	Belmiro						